

International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World

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International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World

Edited by

Matthew McLean

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Preface

This is a book about movement, about how printed material travelled without respect for borders, about how commercial exchange made this possible, but also about how other forms of exchange quickened in its consequence. The chapters of this volume consider the ways in which books were transported across national, confessional, linguistic and cultural boundaries: the base physical means, the routes and partnerships which made exchange possible between cities, markets, between buyers and sellers. They will quantify and reflect upon different local, national and international appetites and tastes, on what travels successfully – how and why – and what does not. They will also discuss movement and exchange in other senses: between languages, between cultures, between confessions and branches of scholarly and literary endeavour. And in considering the opportunities for international exchange exploited by commercial operators, diplomats, translators and collectors, the impediments to movement and reciprocity will become clear; this book considers these too. Local competition, dissonance between local sensitivities and international commercial deals, piracy of both the actual and intellectual sort could oppose the usual dynamics of exchange. Nonetheless, the research presented in this volume testifies to the exceptional mobility and fluidity of books, to their movement around early modern Europe, between languages and cultures, and through the hands of many people: men of commerce, of learning, booksellers and collectors, people who kept and collected their books or sold, gifted, or exchanged them.

The chapters which follow collect together the research presented to the sixth St Andrews Book Conference, which was hosted by the University of St Andrews in the summer of 2013. The conference welcomed many distinguished scholars, some new friends but also many who had attended previous events: as this is an annual gathering, it was possible to reflect on connections between this year's papers, those offered in the previous year which discussed specialised markets, and to anticipate some of the issues to be considered in the following June, when lost books would be the conference theme. This, then, was a meeting attended by scholars of different generations and who had travelled, appropriately, internationally to exchange their research and ideas. St Andrews welcomed colleagues who had journeyed from Italy and Cyprus, North America and Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, France and Spain. The conference was supported by the St Andrews School of History, by the Edinburgh Italian Cultural Institute and was organised and hosted by the research team of the Universal Short Title Catalogue.

The chapters which follow are grouped into four sections: the first of these addresses international exchange and the business of the book trade. Valentina Sebastiani demonstrates that books travelled to a Europe-wide republic of letters, that bestsellers had extraordinary international range and diffusion. The works of Desiderius Erasmus were, quantifiably, bestsellers of the age, and they deluged the European book market. This chapter also analyses how that came to be: the practical aspects of movement, the routes, agents and mediators, and matters of finance and management of commercial risk. Benito Rial Costas considers the relationship between local needs and cultural sensitivities and the internationally-minded dictates of government and trade. Plantin's arrangement with the Spanish crown made good commercial sense, but his breviaries and missals were ill-received by local clergy, whose tastes and spiritual needs they did not serve. Here Plantin's sensitivity to a commercial opportunity, but insensitivity to the expectations of the final recipients of his products, presented an opportunity to local printers who were more responsive to the religion and culture of early modern Spain. Here we are shown that the international ambitions of the Catholic Church after Trent and Plantin's publishing and printing operation did not always triumph over local needs.

In Aldrovandi's *Encyclopedia* the relationship between local, national and international business contexts are again explored: Caroline Duroselle-Melish discusses this work as an ambitious intellectual endeavour which epitomised the culture of the Renaissance, but as a consequence of transnational modes of production and distribution, was subject to unsentimental market practices – reprinting and piracy – far from Bologna's sphere of influence. This chapter also demonstrates how, in an international book market, centres such as Frankfurt could come to be dependent upon peripheral cities, in this case Bologna, for texts. Angela Nuovo's chapter considers the correspondence of Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano, and analyses the use of letters to build networks which transcended national borders. This correspondence shows how a family business established reciprocal partnerships, and developed a multi-centred commercial operation; they also reveal something of their relationships with customers who were far away, but with whom they negotiated in a personal, intimate fashion. Plantin's complex business dealings in France are the subject of a chapter in which Malcolm Walsby analyses the opportunities and sources of investment which were available in the French Market. Plantin's strategies with regards to booksellers and distributors are discussed, as are his travails as a perceived outsider, however much the fine quality of his output was respected. Plantin, we learn, adapted to local preferences and reassured casual buyers by camouflaging his books with a local French style.

The second part of the volume collects three essays which investigate books as a means of cultural and political exchange. Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik considers the bilateral cultural exchanges of the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire: were books the munitions of cultural confrontation, and libraries their warehouses? It emerges rather that books were vessels for continuous transcultural exchange, intermediaries which bridged empires and cultures in a process which was more than simple giving and receiving but a reciprocal creative adaptation. In a chapter which analyses translations of histories of the Dutch Revolt, Nina Lamal considers the ways in which confessionally partisan texts were adapted in order to find a cross-confessional readership, to access attractive but inimical markets. Here we are shown translations which did more than exchange information and ideas, but also adapted the text to different political and religious environments. Mark Geldof's chapter considers the role of military textbooks not just in textualising and transmitting knowledge and practices across Europe, but also in the appropriation of the science of martial prowess from the aristocracy to an international community of non-noble 'gentry authors'. This movement of martial culture from a localised professional discipline to a Europe-wide gentrified martial culture was accomplished by way of legions of pamphlets and books.

The third part of this volume turns to the creations of collections and libraries, to the ownership of books, and the way in which such possessions were acquired by purchase and gift from all corners of the continent. Shanti Graheli provides a fine example of this in her analysis of Claude Expilly's personal library, a collection which grew to become strikingly varied and international in its composition, and which was built by way of a Europe-wide network of friends, patrons and professional acquaintances. It is apparent that in this case, a widely-sourced library followed first from personal travel and the cultivation of diverse intellectual interests, and later provides evidence of a 'private' circulation of books outside the conventional book trade. This chapter tells some of the stories one associates with personal libraries: Expilly's collection evolved as his fortune changed, and individual items bear the marks of the esteem and affection which lay behind gifts and exchanges.

A census of the book inventories of religious houses compiled at the behest of the Congregation of the Index is the focus of Giovanna Granata's chapter. This hugely significant resource is revelatory about the specialised libraries of the different Orders of the Counter Reformation, their varied needs and functions, and also makes a detailed analysis of the acquisition and circulation of books possible. These religious collections were assembled from the length and breadth of Europe, and the different strategies of internationally-minded publishers can be inferred from the data yielded by the inventories. A single

book can be no less revealing. Brendan Dooley considers Angelica's book: a copy of Straparola's *Notti piacevoli*, a collection of tales which crossed and re-crossed the lines of the licit and illicit, exploring narratives of transgression. This chapter is a forensic enquiry into book ownership, language and script, an exploration of the private world of reading and possession, of an individual's engagement with a species of imaginative literature. It is also a remarkable insight into women's reading experience at a cultural crossroads, at the moment in which the Renaissance yielded to the altered conditions of the Counter Reformation.

The fourth and final section of this book collects several essays on the movement and translation of music and literature across Europe. Matthew Laube inspects the wide network of Jerome Commelin, a familial, religious and professional network which made possible his activities as a printer, publisher and seller of books. His four music titles were striking works, but have received scant scholarly attention: new sources make it possible to reconstruct the wide circulation of these works, and their movement across national, confessional and linguistic boundaries. Commelin intentionally devised works of international appeal, music which could be sung by Lutherans, Catholics and Calvinists alike. The circulation of Italian music throughout Europe is analysed by Huub van der Linden: how music was distributed from printer to buyer, the mechanics of the music trade. Using a wide range of sources – inventories, invoices, catalogues – to reconstruct the means by which the editions of the Silvani firm crossed the Alps, this chapter reconstructs the collaborations which made it possible to cross great distances and give access to the markets of the Habsburg Empire, Switzerland and Germany.

Translation may be regarded as a form of 'intercultural alchemy' upon which early modern drama was dependent for its construction and diffusion. Anston Bosman's chapter dissects these plays, their texts and their performance, and reconstructs the circulations of printed and performed drama within a northern European 'culture area'. These plays were media in motion, not ossified artefacts, and reference to a present-day sociology of communication illuminates how ideas spread across cultures through print and performance. Early modern drama did not respect boundaries of state or time – which was "the key to their resonance and force".

With the 1502 Aldine edition, the poetry of Catullus, lost to the Middle Ages, became widely circulated and conveniently available. Alina Laura de Luca describes the circulation and reception of his works through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and describes the processes of their translation in Italy, France and England – in this chapter it becomes clear that the translation of Catullus was dynamic, competitive and freely interpretative, and that translators

considered it their task to both modify and renovate the text. Warren Boutcher considers Montaigne's *Essais* as transnational literature in this volume's final chapter. The *Essais* were freely circulated despite national boundaries and the cruel political conditions of their author's time; they were traded everywhere as a commodity, translated, and also acted as an "intellectual conveyance" which traversed the linguistic barriers of early modern Europe and stood as a testimony to an international noble community of the mind. This chapter considers the meaning of transnational literary, linguistic and print cultures, and how literary artefacts are 'translated' in space, between one language and another, and between cultures and confessions. The *Essais* represent an arresting example of a vast body of transnational literature which existed in constant migration, ceaseless movement.

Matthew McLean

St Andrews, 2015

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PART 1

***The International Book Trade: Business without
Borders***



Sales Channels for Bestsellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe*

Valentina Sebastiani

Over the course of the last decade, the enthusiasm that has marked the digital (re)cataloguing of printed works held in libraries, archives, and other institutions in Europe and North America, together with the requirement that computer-based systems be used for bibliographic research, has provided historians with new possibilities for applying quantitative approaches to the study of the history of the book and has allowed them both to widen the scope of their enquiries and to place new questions on their agendas.¹ In fact, the adoption of analytic-synthetic and faceted-classification techniques for the organization and retrieval of library materials from online public access library catalogues (OPACs) has enormously improved users' ability to locate printed matter, especially those works produced during the hand-press era. Although the data that appear in online databases are still in some ways limited, the new methodologies for searching library collections and, in particular, the ability to apply multiple filters in a metasearch, are now allowing researchers to conduct more complete, diverse, and immediate surveys of the production and distribution of printed books than anything that was possible in the past. Faceted browsing offers the opportunity to restrict queries to the descriptive fields traditionally employed in analytical bibliography and, therefore, to quickly identify, for example, the number and kind of materials printed in a specific time period as well as to determine which of these are linked to a particular author or were produced by a given printing-house. Finally, quantitative data extracted from online databases may serve as empirical bases to support not only research aimed at a more detailed bibliological examination of individual surviving

* English translation by Wendell Ricketts.

1 For a recent consideration of the use of new technologies in the study of the history of the book, see David McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies* (Cambridge, MA, Cambridge University Press, 2013). On the use of computing, with special reference to historical bibliography, see Claire Warwick, Melissa Terras, and Julianne Nyhan (eds.), *Digital Humanities in Practice* (London, Facet Publishing in association with UCL Digital Humanities Centre, 2012), and pp. 139–165 in particular.

copies – which are also increasingly digitalized – but also more broadly-based analyses of the economic and commercial dynamics of book printing.

In keeping with these considerations, this essay is an attempt to carry out an investigation that employs, alongside traditional bibliographic tools, new digital technologies for the study of the history of the book. Specifically, it explores both the economic aspects of the publication of some of the writings of Erasmus of Rotterdam and the sales networks developed and deployed in the service of their diffusion. Through the in-depth study of paratextual materials and a careful examination of letters and archival documents, this essay argues that the impact of Erasmus' works on the European book market qualifies them as 'bestsellers' of the early modern age, not solely because of the interest they aroused among Erasmus' contemporaries, but also because of the diversified, efficient, and well-structured distribution and sales networks used to market them, extending into and connecting the entire Republic of Letters.

Editions and Reprints of Erasmus' Works

A complete bibliography of the printed works of Erasmus of Rotterdam has long been a *desideratum* of international scholarship in Renaissance and Reformation studies.² Though this essay cannot fill this void, a glance at online databases allows us to extract data regarding the number of published editions of Erasmus' works that appeared during his lifetime and then to use that information in a qualitative analysis. The *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* database lists 1,373 titles printed between 1501 and 1536 in which Erasmus is named as author, editor/compiler, or translator. In the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), hosted by the University of St. Andrews, 2,579 titles, printed by some fifty different printing-houses all across Europe between 1500 and 1536, are attributed to Erasmus.³

2 The principal extant bibliographies, in fact, do not report exhaustive data. See Irgard Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke des 16. Jahrhunderts in bayerischen Bibliotheken. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis* (Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1979) and Ferdinand van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana. Répertoire des oeuvres d'Érasme* (Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands, B. De Graaf, 1972).

3 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Hg. von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München in Verbindung mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, 25 Vols. (Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1983–2000). Internet database: www.VD16.de (hereinafter VD16). The database describes more than 110,000 volumes conserved in approximately 260 libraries within the German-speaking area and was consulted on 20 August 2015. According to information presented on the occasion of the official launch of the catalogue in November 2011, the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*

That the great humanist scholar was a prolific writer is well known – and not solely among specialists in Erasmus studies. His own contemporaries commented with amazement upon the flood of Erasmus' published works. "You put out all these great tomes every day, until the supply of presses almost runs out and the printers can hardly spare a moment for anyone but you," wrote the Paris-based legal scholar Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) in February 1519.⁴ What is, in fact, remarkable is that works by Erasmus constitute nearly 5.4% of the entire book production catalogued in the VD16 for the period between 1501 and 1536 and nearly 3.5% of printed works catalogued by the USTC between 1500 and 1536. The number of works whose authorship is ascribed to Erasmus is inferior only to the number of works attributed to Martin Luther (1483–1546).⁵

By separating first editions from later reprints and revised editions, it might then be possible to use the undifferentiated data provided by these two online catalogues to form a clearer picture of Erasmus' printed production and of the diffusion of his writings.⁶ With regard to first editions, for example, van der Haeghen's *Bibliotheca Erasmiana* reports some 170 titles while the catalogue compiled by Imgard Bezzel lists 145.⁷ In either case, the number of later reprints and revised editions varies considerably by title. Instances exist of enormously successful editions such as *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii* which, printed for the first time in Paris in June 1512 by Josse Bade, by the end of 1536 had already appeared in some sixty reprints and revised editions. Similarly, the *Enchiridion militis christiani*, first published by Thierry Martens

(<http://www.ustc.ac.uk>) contains bibliographic information on some 350,000 books printed between approximately 1450 and 1601 and held in more than 6,000 European libraries. Ongoing updates are available at <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/news/listing/tag/update>. The online catalogue was consulted on 20 August 2015. Though the first of Erasmus' writings to appear in print can be dated to 1495, here I consider solely the production of Erasmus' works beginning with the publication of the first edition of the *Adagia* in 1500 (Paris: J.P. Kreuznach) until his death in 1536.

- 4 *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Roger A.B. Myers and Peter G. Bietenholz (eds.), 15+ Vols. (*Collected Works of Erasmus*) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974; hereinafter CWE): Vol. 6, Ep. 915.
- 5 VD16 lists 25,441 titles between 1501 and 1536. The USTC lists 72,563 titles of which 3,672 are titles catalogued under the name of Martin Luther. Both catalogues were consulted on 20 August 2015.
- 6 This essay is not the place to attempt to differentiate between authorized and unauthorized editions and reprintings of Erasmus' works.
- 7 Van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*, pp. 1–183. Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke*, pp. 31–501. The data do not include separate or revised printings of previously published works such as, for example, translations into German of Erasmus' writings or distinct editions of some proverbs.

in 1503, reappeared in some fifty different printings. Other of Erasmus' works were reprinted or reedited from ten to forty times, as was the case with the some forty reprints and reeditions of *Encomium Moriae*, the approximately twenty printings of *Querela Pacis* and *Institutio principis christiani*, or the thirty or so printings of his *Parabolae sive Similia*.

Other works by Erasmus, conversely, received fewer than ten reprints – some of his *Controversies* or of his *Carmina*, for example.⁸ Numerous additional cases might be cited, but what is especially noteworthy is the fact that, if we compare the number of first editions catalogued by van der Haeghen and by Bezzel (170 and 145, respectively) with the total number of Erasmus' works listed in the USTC and the VD16 catalogues (2,579 and 1,373, respectively), what emerges is that nearly 75% of the works listed are reprints or revised editions.

That the works of Erasmus were in great demand is further confirmed by the enthusiasm with which his readers wrote to ask him where copies of his works could be procured and at what price.⁹ Erasmus was himself well aware of the enormous success of his works; in 1533, in fact, he wrote to the Savoyard diplomat Eustace Chapuys (1489–1556), Charles v's ambassador to England: "[T]he printers say there is no one who sells better [than I]."¹⁰ If, as has been claimed, "the number of reprints, if any, presents a truer measure of a book's diffusion," we may then easily form an initial impression of the breadth and scope of the circulation of Erasmus' writings.¹¹

Erasmus' 'Bestsellers': The Print Run

Online database queries permit a further division among Erasmus' works on the basis of the printers who produced them. Limiting the query to the five main printing-houses with which Erasmus worked most closely, the USTC reports a total of 543 texts printed, 304 of which were printed by Johann

8 These data are taken from van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*, respectively pp. 65–67; 79–81; 166; 111; 137–138; 9–15; 24–27.

9 For example, Nikolaus Ellenbog (1481–1543) wrote to Erasmus from Württemberg at the end of March 1516 to ask where he might procure copies of the *Novum Instrumentum* and the *Opera omnia* of St. Jerome and at what price; see CWE 3, *Ep.* 395.

10 "Sed tamen typographi aiunt vix aliud nomen esse vendibilium": *Opus epistolarum*, Percy S. Allen et al. (eds.), 12 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906–1958; hereinafter Allen), Vol. 1, *Ep.* 2798.

11 Paul F. Grendler, "Printing and Censorship," in Charles B. Schmitt (ed.), *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 25–53: 29.

(c. 1460–1527) and Jerome (1501–1563) Froben alone between 1513 and 1536, according to the VD16.¹²

The clear preference that Erasmus accorded to the Frobens' printing-house in Basel is evident. Johann and Jerome Froben printed not only the largest number of Erasmus' works, but also the largest number of his first and revised reissues.¹³ In 1516, for example, the Froben press printed first editions of the *Novum Instrumentum* and the *Opera omnia* of St. Jerome; in 1517, the first edition of *Querela Pacis* appeared; in 1519, it was *Ratio verae theologiae* and a collection of Erasmus' letters (*Farrago*); in 1520 *Antibarbarorum liber* was published for the first time; beginning in 1518, the Froben press brought out first editions of the *Paraphrases of the Gospels* as well as of some of Erasmus' minor writings, not to mention the many first editions of the writings of Church Fathers that the Frobens printed with Erasmus' revisions, notes, and commentaries.

Deeper scrutiny of activity at the Froben printing-house and of the Frobens' partnership with Erasmus between 1514 and 1536 allows us to identify the print run of some of Erasmus' editions. The Froben printing-house, located on an alleyway named Tötengässlein and also known as "zum Sessel," employed four to six presses and operated with a staff of some thirty workers.¹⁴

Though calculations of productivity during the hand-press era have estimated that a single printing press could, in some cases, produce between 1,300

12 The printers with whom Erasmus was in closest contact were: Matthias Schürer in Strasbourg, Thierry Martens in Louvain, Josse Bade in Paris, Aldo Manuzio in Venice, and Johann and Jerome Froben in Basel. On their collaboration with Erasmus, see Diane S. Shaw, "A Study of the Collaboration between Erasmus of Rotterdam and His Printer Johann Froben," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, 6 (1986), pp. 31–124 and, more recently, Alexandre Vanautgaerden, *Érasme typographe. Humanisme et imprimerie au début du XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012). The data reported by USTC and VD16 were consulted on 20 August 2015.

13 Vanautgaerden cites eighty-one first editions printed by Froben between 1521 and 1529 (Vanautgaerden, *Érasme typographe*, p. 459).

14 The Froben printing-house was located at No. 171 Tötengässlein, which is today No. 3; see Staatsarchiv Basel (hereinafter StABS), Hausurkunden (1370–1841): Historisches Grundbuch der Stadt Basel, *Tödtgässlein 171*, with site maps. The printing-house owned four hand-presses at least as early as 1517 and six beginning in 1527. From 1528 onward, Jerome Froben printed with seven. See Allen 3, *Ep.* 594; 7, *Ep.* 1910; 8, *Ep.* 2046; Karin Crousaz, *Érasme et le pouvoir de l'imprimerie* (Lausanne, Éditions Antipodes, 2005), pp. 60–61, Notes 140–144. Regarding the number of workers and consulting scholars employed by the Frobens, see Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: The British Library, 2011), especially pp. 1–142 *passim*.

and 1,500 leaves (*recto* and *verso*) per day,¹⁵ these evaluations assume no more than a relative value in light of the way work was organized at the Froben printing-house and of the kind of printings the firm produced. Indeed, the high quality of the Frobens' books cannot be over-emphasized. The manufacture of the Froben editions, which reflected the printing-house's masterful skill in design aesthetics and layout, required the insertion of a large number of decorative and graphic elements, careful attention to linguistic and philological accuracy, and the preparation of explanatory tables, indices, and summaries.¹⁶ But if the combination of these elements lent the Frobens' books considerable elegance and greater impact, however, they also served to increase production times. For the task of this essay, therefore, what becomes more interesting is an examination not of the number of leaves printed on a daily basis but of the print-runs of entire editions.

In 1515, for example, the first issue of *Encomium Moriae* produced by the Froben press, which appeared in a single volume together with Seneca's *De morte Claudii Caesaris* and Synesius of Cyrene's *De Laudibus Calvitiis*, was printed in a run of 1,800 copies. In 1522 – according to Erasmus' own proud announcement – multiple reissues and reprintings had raised that number to no fewer than 20,000 copies.¹⁷ Erasmus' celebrated first edition of *Novum Instrumentum* (1516) was initially printed in approximately 1,200 copies and, between reissues and reprintings (as Erasmus himself proclaimed), "more than 100,000 copies were distributed by the printers" over the course of a decade.¹⁸ The first edition of his *Paraphrases on the Acts of the Apostles* of 1524 was printed in 6,000 copies ("3,000 in small type, 3,000 in large type").¹⁹ A year earlier, a polemical pamphlet by Erasmus that criticized Ulrich von Hutten (the *Spongia*) was printed in a run of 3,000 copies, and an equal number were reprinted only two months later.²⁰ In 1535, finally, *Ecclesiaste* was produced in an edition of 2,600 copies.²¹

Though these examples are limited, and keeping in mind that average print-runs at the Froben printing-house were generally higher than those in other European centers of printing and publishing, the number of copies produced

15 Crousaz, *Érasme*, p. 59, Note 131.

16 For an analysis of the technical-typographical aspects of some of the works of Erasmus published by the Frobens, see Vanautgaerden, *Érasme typographe*, pp. 277–424.

17 Allen 4, *Appendix*, p. 622.

18 Allen 3, *Ep.* 801, note 13, and *Ep.* 1723.

19 Allen 5, *Ep.* 1423.

20 Allen 5, *Ep.* 1397.

21 Allen 12, *Ep.* 3076.

of Erasmus' works leaves no doubt that his books were the 'bestsellers' of the age.²² Indeed, if we calculate 1,500 copies of each edition as an average print-run for Erasmus' works (rounding down) and then multiply this figure by the number of books listed in the USTC (2,579), the result is that, between the years 1500 and 1536, nearly four million copies of Erasmus' works invaded the European book market, of which some 450,000 (11.2%) were produced by the Froben printing-house.²³

The Business Structure of the Froben Printing-House

Bundles of printed leaves were packed into wooden casks and shipped, principally by river, from the Froben printing-house on the Tötengässlein alley, only a short distance from the Rhine. A few weeks later, they reached retail outlets in the main European hubs of international commerce as well as more minor centers of the book trade: Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Paris, Lyon, London, Leipzig, and Venice, in addition to Tübingen, Brussels, Pavia, and others.²⁴ Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, for example, whose printing was completed on 7 March 1516, was already in the hands of the scholar Guillaume Budé (1467–1540) in Paris on 27 April. At around the same period, Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) bought a copy during the springtime fair in Frankfurt.²⁵ Erasmus' edition of

22 The average Froben print-run between the end of the 1400s and the middle of the 1500s was approximately 1,600 copies; see Valentina Sebastiani, "I *Pasquillorum tomi duo* nel contesto della stampa satirica basileese (1494–1544)," in *Pasquino, signore della satira, e la lotta dei suoi discepoli per la Riforma religiosa e politica nel Cinquecento*, Angelo Romano and Chrysa Damianaki (eds.), (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2013), pp. 139–157. In France the average was between 600 and 1,250; in Venice, on average a thousand copies were produced of each edition. See Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, "Fabriquer un livre au XVI^e siècle," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, Vol. 1. *Le livre conquérant: du Moyen Age au milieu du XVII^e siècle*, Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (eds.), (Paris: Promodis, 1983), pp. 278–301: 281; and Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), especially pp. 99–116.

23 In the first version of his will (1527), Erasmus decreed that printings of his *Opera omnia* should not fall below 1,500 copies; see Allen 5, *Ep.* 1779.

24 Details on transportation systems employed by Basel printers are revealed in correspondence between the printers Johann Amerbach (c. 1443–1513) and Anton Koberger (c. 1440–1513) dating to the years 1493–1509: Oscar von Hase (ed.), *Das Briefbuch der Koberger zu Nurnbergk* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1881). Additional data can be found in Martin Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus: Ein Basler Buchdrucker um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 1966), pp. 50–55.

25 See Allen 2, *Eps.* 394, 403, and *Ep.* 418 Introduction.

the writings of St. Jerome, printed between January and August 1516, was on sale in Brussels and Louvain beginning in Autumn, albeit in rebound and costly editions.²⁶ In 1526, Bernardo Clesio (1485–1539), the Prince-Bishop of Trento, paid two Rhenish florins in Tübingen for a reprinting of Erasmus' *Adagia* published in February of the same year in an edition containing 917 leaves. Thirteen years earlier, in 1513, an edition of the *Adagia* containing a smaller number of proverbs and printed in only 273 leaves, was available for a single Rhenish florin.²⁷ Finally, of the 1,800 copies of the edition which included Seneca's *De morte Claudii Caesaris*, Synesius of Cyrene's *De Laudibus Calvitiis*, and Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae*, and which went on sale on 31 March 1515, 1,200 copies were sold in just over two weeks.²⁸

In the absence of an accounting ledger for the Froben firm during the years of its most feverish activity, production costs and profits can only be inferred.²⁹ A September 1524 letter from Erasmus to the Italian humanist, Polydor Vergil (c. 1470–1555), for example, not only provides evidence of Erasmus' role as mediator on behalf of the Froben printing-house during negotiations for the printing of the works of other authors, but includes valuable details regarding

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- 26 Allen 3, *Eps.* 483, 486. Allen 3, *Ep.* 509 indicates that the rebound edition of the writings of St. Jerome was available for sale in Louvain for fifteen and a half Rhenish florins ("opera Hieronymi compaginata, quindecim cum dimidio Renen[sibus]"), while Froben had set the price of the unbound leaves at eight Rhenish florins: "omnia opera divi Jheronymi... valent[es] 8 flor[enos]." StABS, Klosterarchiv Kartauss, *Liber Benefactorum*, 2 *Idus Aprilis* [transcribed by Karl Stehlin, *Regesten zur Geschichte des Buchdrucks*, 3 Vols. (Leipzig: Druck von B.G. Teubner and Fischer & Wittig, 1887–1891), Vol. 1, No. 1628]. For an estimate of the value of a Rhenish florin, consider that, in 1521, Froben bought the house known as "Haus zur alten Treu" at No. 17 Nadelberg Street for 200 Rhenish florins; see StABS, Gerichtsarchiv, *Fertigungsbuch*, B 22, Fol. 213r. 214v.
- 27 The copy of the *Adagia* that belonged to Prince-Bishop Bernhard von Cles and bore the handwritten annotation regarding the purchase price ("Emimus librum hunc proverbiorum Tybingen duobos florenis A.D. 1526") is held in the Municipal Library of Trento: Erasmus Roterodamus, *Adagiorum opus* (Basel: Froben, 1526; call number: t-G 2 c 338). The price of the copy of *Adagia* 1513 is specified in the *Liber Benefactorum* ("librum Adagiorum Erasmi Roterodami valentem j g[ulden]": StABS, Klosterarchiv Kartauss, *Liber Benefactorum*, 2 *Idus Aprilis*, and Stehlin, *Regesten*, No. 1628).
- 28 On 17 April 1515, Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) reported that "The *Moria* has only 600 copies left out of 1800, so it will be reprinted straight away" (CWE 2, *Ep.* 328).
- 29 The only Froben accounting document known to date is a *Rechnungsbuch* or "reckoning book" reflecting Jerome Froben's management of the business in its final years. See Rudolf Wackernagel (ed.), *Rechnungsbuch der Froben & Episcopius, Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zu Basel: 1557–1564* (Basel, Benno Schwabe, 1881).

production costs and, indirectly, the printing-house's profit margins. Quoting Froben, Erasmus wrote to Vergil that, "if he [Froben] were to print it in large type it would make a very big volume; six hundred gold coins would not cover the costs."³⁰ The work in question was the edition of Vergil's *Adagiorum opus* that Froben actually printed in June 1525 in a folio format of 180 pages.³¹ In order for 600 gold coins (equivalent to 600 florins) to cover production costs alone, a print-run of at least 600 copies would have been necessary, assuming that the per-copy price was set at one florin. Though no specific data survive regarding the number of copies produced of this work, on the basis of the data reported above, a plausible hypothesis is that the Frobens' average edition was of 1,600 copies. If that is true, the printing-house would have realized a profit of 1,000 florins, assuming that all copies were sold.

In order to manage the sale and distribution on the European book market of the roughly 450,000 copies produced in nearly twenty years of partnership with Erasmus, the Froben firm developed a highly diversified, efficient, and well-structured commercial and financial network. The city of Basel itself offered a series of extremely favorable conditions for such a venture, and its geographical position, infrastructure, political policies, and cultural factors had, in fact, established the city on the Rhine as a capital of European book-printing by the end of the fifteenth century. In particular, Basel's strategic position as a crossroads of communications contributed to orient the quality of printers' production toward the demands of the new European market for humanistic and theological literature; the increased costs that resulted from the production of more scrupulously prepared and finely decorated texts were balanced against access to a much more extensive market.³²

Beginning in 1514, the enormous increase in production that resulted from the Frobens' partnership with Erasmus required the printing-house to put sales of its books into the hands of commercial brokers who developed book-trade operations on the basis of a special partnership between the Froben firm and the main European book markets. Francis (d. 1530) and Arnold (d. 1541)

30 CWE 10, *Ep.* 1494.

31 Polydorus Vergilius, *Adagiorum opus*. Basel: Froben, 1525. Consulted copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, call number: 2 L.eleg.m. 118.

32 On the city of Basel as a capital for European book-printing, see Martin Steinmann, "Der Basler Buchdruck im 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch," *Librarium*, 53 (2010), pp. 79–98; Urs B. Leu, "Die Bedeutung Basel als Druckort im 16. Jahrhundert," in Christine Christ-von Wedel, Sven Grosse, Berndt Hamm (eds.), *Basel als Zentrum des geistigen Austauschs in der frühen Reformation* (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck Verlag, 2014), pp. 53–78; and Valentina Sebastiani, "I Pasquillorum tomi duo," pp. 140–142.

Birckmanns' company in Cologne, for example, distributed most of the Frobens' books with particular attention to England, the Netherlands, and the Cologne area. The French market was dominated by Johann Schabler (d.c.1540), frequently referred to as Wattenschnee and, from 1522 onward, by Konrad Resch (d. 1552) and Michel Parmentier (c. 1481–1561). Wattenschnee, who became a citizen of Basel in 1495, opened two outlets known as the *Écu de Bâle* (the *scutum basiliense*) in Lyon and Paris from which he sold books produced by the Frobens as well as by other publishers in Basel.³³ The brokers and book-sellers who worked with the Froben firm also offered courier and transport services and acted as bankers, forwarding cash, bills of exchange, books, and letters to the Frobens and to their partners in the printing-house, including Erasmus. On occasion, they operated as publishers, covering the cost of new editions in whole or in part and contributing through membership dues to the financial capital of the Froben firm.³⁴ The letter from Erasmus to Polydor Vergil, referred to above, provides useful information regarding the systems employed by the Froben printing-house for financing the books it produced:

There are three ways of getting a book printed. Sometimes Froben undertakes the whole business at his own risk; this he does now and again for smaller books in which the risk of loss is less perilous. Sometimes the whole thing is done at the risk of another party, and he himself stipulates only to be paid for the work he has put into it. Sometimes the risk of the business is shared by a partnership. So far in this contract for the work Franz is offering the most inadequate remuneration. There will now be discussions in Frankfurt whether the thing can be done either at Franz's sole risk or jointly by a consortium.³⁵

If the commercial brokers who worked with the Froben firm invested in the publication of some works or financially supported the printing-house in other

33 With regard to the commercial networks of Basel printing-houses generally and of the Froben firm in specific, see, in particular, Peter G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century. The Basle Humanists and Printers in their Contacts with Francophone Culture* (Geneva, Droz, 1971), especially pp. 23–43.

34 A biographical profile of the commercial brokers who worked with Froben and an analysis of the dynamics of their business dealings can be found in *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (eds.), 3 Vols. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984–1987; hereinafter CE), Vol. 1, pp. 148–150; Vol. 3, pp. 51, 141–142, 215–216; and Bietenholz, *Basle and France*, pp. 1–142.

35 CWE 5, *Ep.* 1494.

ways, it is nonetheless true that the commercial and financial aspects of the printing-house's business lay, until his death in 1518, in the expert hands of Wolfgang Lachner (c. 1465–1518), Johann Froben's father-in-law.³⁶ Having come to Basel from his native Neuburg, Bavaria, in 1488, Lachner developed a significant book trade, especially between Basel and Venice, bringing many of the works of Aldo Manuzio (1449–1515) to the German market. Lachner was also in business with other printers in Basel and, from the beginning of the 1500s, was tightly connected with the printing-house of Johann Amerbach. His preferential relationship with Johann Froben, solidified by Froben's marriage to Lachner's daughter, Gertrud (1488–1560), conferred upon Lachner a great deal of freedom in handling the printing-house's affairs, including matters that were not strictly financial in nature. He not only coordinated the firm's editorial policies, for example, and kept the press supplied with manuscripts to be printed, but he personally maintained relationships with authors, establishing the prices that would be offered for their work and seeing that they were paid.³⁷ In 1517, Erasmus received twenty Rhenish gold florins per manuscript as well as a certain number of author's copies for some of the works entrusted to the Froben printing-house. Five years earlier, in 1512, Erasmus had been paid only fifteen gold florins by Josse Bade (1462–1535) for the manuscript of *De Copia*.³⁸

Alongside the efficient and sweeping commercial networks organized by the men who engaged in business with the Froben printing-house, the contribution of Erasmus himself to the marketing and distribution of his own books surely deserves mention. It is known that Erasmus wrote prefaces, dedicatory letters, and book 'blurbs,' advised the Frobens regarding books that might be published, proofread manuscripts and performed other editorial duties, and did his best to obtain preferential treatment for his own works and to prevent the Frobens' rivals from publishing unauthorized editions. Most importantly of all, however, Erasmus maintained a correspondence with almost every member of the Republic of Letters of early modern Europe. In his letters, alongside the religious, literary, and political topics he discussed, Erasmus frequently inserted detailed updates about his own book production. In order to focus the scholarly community's attention on his writings, Erasmus devised communication strategies that still deserve a systematic evaluation in order to

36 For a biographical profile of Lachner, see Frank Hieronymus, "Wolfgang Lachner, Buchhändler und Verleger, Schwiegervater Johann Frobens," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 60 (1985), pp. 145–152.

37 See, for example, Allen 5, *Eps.* 704A, 732.

38 Regarding compensation paid to Erasmus by Bade and by Froben and on the matter of author's copies sent to him by Lachner and Froben, see Allen, *Eps.* 435, 732, 795, 840.

demonstrate not only Erasmus' manifold efforts in this regard, but also the consumer behavior and intellectual tastes of members of the Republic of Letters. In the end, of course, Erasmus' 2,000 or so correspondents were also potential customers.³⁹

39 A systematic analysis of the material, economic, and visual strategies employed for the production and distribution of Erasmus' best-selling works by Johann and Hieronymus Frobens' printing-house and an evaluation of the impact of the Frobens' editorial production on the political and religious culture of the European early modern age is the subject of my ongoing research at the University of Basel, financed by the Swiss National Fund (SNF), the results of which I expect to publish in a forthcoming book.

International Publishing and Local Needs: The Breviaries and Missals Printed by Plantin for the Spanish Crown

Benito Rial Costas

The last session of the Council of Trent was held in December 1563. After twenty years of meetings, the Council of Trent seemed to have fulfilled its mission, reaffirming Roman Catholic dogma and papal authority, formalizing the instruction and roles of clergy and universalizing the cults and rites of the Church. Trent entrusted the Pope with the tasks of the unification of liturgical books and of the correction of the alterations which had been introduced into them over time. The unified Roman Breviary was established in July 1568 and the unified Roman Missal in July 1570.¹ Only those churches which possessed two-hundred-year-old liturgies approved by the Pope were exempted from the obligation to use the Roman Breviary and Missal. In December 1570, the Spanish Crown, at the request of Philip II, was allowed to make some changes to the Roman Breviary and Missal to preserve the rites and ceremonies of Toledo's Church (afterwards 'the Spanish Church'). It was also granted the rights to print and sell them.²

- 1 Javier Campos y Fdez. de Sevilla, 'Felipe II, el monasterio del Escorial y el Nuevo Rezado (1573–1598)' in Javier Campos y Fdez. de Sevilla (dir.), *Felipe II y su época. Actas del Simposium (II) 1/5–IX–1998*, (Madrid, Estudios Superiores del Escorial, 1998), pp. 509–510, 520; Jaime Moll, 'Una imprenta para la Biblia Regia', in Werner Thomas and Robert A. Verdonk, *Encuentros en Flandes: relaciones e intercambios hispanoflamencos a inicios de la Edad Moderna* (Sorial, Fundación Duques de Soria, 2000), pp. 322–323. For an overview of the publication of Tridentine liturgical books in the sixteenth century, see Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 122–124.
- 2 Christian Peligry, 'La Oficina Plantiniana, los libros litúrgicos y su difusión en España: un caso de estrategia editorial', in Hans Tromp and Pedro Piera (eds.), *Simposio Internacional sobre Cristóbal Plantino (18, 19 y 20 de enero de 1990)* (Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1990), pp. 63–65. See also Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London, Cassell & Co., 1960), p. 137; Leon Voet, *The golden compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam, Vangendt & Co., 1969–1972), vol 1, p. 65; Leon Voet, *The Plantin press (1555–1589): a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Antwerp, Van Hoeven Amsterdam, 1980–1982), vol. 1, pp. 442–443; José Sierra Pérez, 'La realza en la liturgia: Monasterio del

Christopher Plantin had been working on printing the Polyglot Bible for the Spanish Crown from 1568, and having heard that Philip II had negotiated with the Pope about specific breviaries and missals for Spain and his overseas possessions, he offered his services to the Spanish Crown for this new enterprise.³ At the beginning of 1571, Philip II signed a non-exclusive agreement with Plantin to print these liturgical books, reserving for himself the role of agent, with its attendant profits. In February of that year, Philip II sent a dispatch to the Duke of Alba informing him of his publishing project, the first steps to take, and its urgency. In April, a dispatch was sent to Plantin with a papal brief, which ratified the agreement with the Spanish Crown and authorized the changes which were necessary to keep the rites and ceremonies of the Spanish Church. From that moment, Plantin was almost exclusively devoted to printing liturgical books for the Spanish Crown. In 1572, almost all of Plantin's presses, except those used for the Polyglot Bible, were involved with the production of Spanish liturgical books. Between 1571 and 1576, Plantin sent 18,000 breviaries and 16,000 missals to Spain.⁴

The political, economic and social implications that having a Spanish rite and the authority to publish it had for the Spanish Crown and Philip II are evident. Firstly, a Spanish rite recognized a kind of independence of the Spanish Church and, consequently, of its Crown, from the Pope. Secondly, editing the content of the Spanish Church's own liturgical books could be used to strengthen Philip II's authority and presence in his domains and Church.

Escorial (siglo XVI, Felipe II)', in Luis Prensa and Pedro Calahorra (eds.), *Jornadas de Canto Gregoriano. XIII Música en la Hispania romana, visigoda y medieval. XIV Los monasterios, senderos de vida* (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 2010), pp. 135–136.

3 Plantin had been also working on printing the Tridentine breviaries and missals for the Netherlands, Hungary and part of Germany since 1569. Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 124–126.

4 Jaime Moll, 'Plantino, los Junta y el "privilegio" del Nuevo Rezado', in Hans Tromp and Pedro Piera (eds.), *Simposio Internacional sobre Cristóbal Plantino (18, 19 y 20 de enero de 1990)* (Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1990), pp. 11–12; Peligry, 'La Oficina Plantiniana', pp. 65–68. See also Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 141–145; Robert M. Kingdom, 'The Plantin breviaries: a case of study in the sixteenth-century business operations of a publishing house', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 22, 1 (1960), pp. 138–146; Voet, *The golden compasses*, vol. 1, pp. 67–68, 90; Frans M.A. Robben, *Cristóbal Plantino (1520–1589) y España* (Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General del Libro y Bibliotecas, 1991), pp. 7–8; Vicente Bécares, *Arias Montano y Plantino. El libro flamenco en la España de Felipe II* (León, Universidad de León, 1999), p. 98; Antonio Dávila Pérez (ed.), *Correspondencia conservada en el Museo Plantin-Moretus de Amberes* (Alcañiz – Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos – Laberinto – CSIC, 2002), vol. 1, pp. xxx–xxxi. For a list of editions, prices and shipments, see Becares, *Arias Montano*, pp. 101–102.

Thirdly, being granted the rights to publish and sell the new authoritative versions of these books, and given that all previous versions were banned, could result in significant profits. Upon obtaining the Spanish rite, Philip II had the power to decide what would go in the Spanish versions of the books and what would not, who would print those books, who would distribute them, and what their retail price would be.⁵

The publication and sale of the liturgical books for Spain is a complex story. Many forces and various interests interacted, and, perhaps because of this complexity, only a few aspects and agents of its story have previously been considered. Fernando Bouza, for example, has studied the political motivations of Philip II's personal involvement in the content of the liturgical books, Jaime Moll has questioned the exclusivity of the agreement granted to Plantin for printing liturgical books for the Spanish Crown, and Vicente Bécares has studied the involvement of the Humanist Benito Arias Montano in these books.⁶

This essay studies the breviaries and missals printed by Plantin for the Spanish Crown and focuses on a new aspect – the commercial one – and on a new agent – the Spanish market. On the one hand, it highlights the commercial dimension that the publishing and printing agreement with Plantin had for Philip II and the Spanish Crown. On the other hand, it suggests that the Spanish market was an important force on the publication and sale of the liturgical books and that neither Philip II, as monarch and monopolist publisher, nor Plantin, as member of the international book industry, were always able to meet and understand the needs and expectations of the Spanish clergy.

The printing of breviaries and missals by Plantin for the Spanish Crown resulted in a voluminous correspondence. Sample sheets and proofs were regularly sent to the Spanish Court by Plantin and sheets of suggestions and corrections were sent back to him. This correspondence allows us to observe how the contents and layouts of these books were carefully regulated and revised by the Spanish Crown, often by Philip II himself.⁷ This essay is mainly based on the correspondence between Plantin and the Spanish Crown between 1571 and 1576 kept at the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp and bound in a

5 Bécares, *Arias Montano*, p. 98.

6 Fernando Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda: capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II* (Madrid, Akal, 1998), pp. 153–167; Moll, 'Plantino', pp. 9–23; Bécares, *Arias Montano*, 1999.

7 A folder named "Advertimientos de mano de Su Majestad sobre los que había hecho el Padre Villalba para la impresión de los Breviarios, Diurnales y Misales Romanos nuevos. Hízolos en Madrid a primero de hebrero de 1571" is kept at the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS E 583/166). Dávila Pérez, *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, p. 33.

single volume of 589 pages entitled “Missale et Breuiarium 1572–1576.”⁸ A few of the letters in the volume were published by Max Rooses and Jan Denucé at the end of the nineteenth century and a few others – those written to or by Montano – by Antonio Dávila Pérez in 2002, but their detailed study and a complete edition are still pending.⁹ Analyzing in detail all suggestions and corrections sent to Plantin by the Spanish Crown and studying how Plantin handled them go far beyond the scope of this work and the possibilities of this correspondence. This essay is, in a certain sense, exploratory research. I do not intend to provide definitive answers but rather to highlight some overlooked aspects of the breviaries and missals printed by Plantin for the Spanish Crown. I want to suggest a different story of the repeatedly praised Plantin’s management and books, and of Philip II’s and his officials’s personal involvement, book preferences and contributions. I hope that this essay can direct some interest toward these important new aspects and forces.¹⁰

8 Plantin-Moretus Museum. Arch. 122: Missale et Breviarium 1572–1576 (afterwards *Missale et Breviarium*). I am indebted to Dr. Paul Dijstelberge for drawing my attention to this volume and for providing me with photos of it. For a description of this volume and a list of relevant documents kept at the Plantin-Moretus Museum, see Dávila, *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, pp. xlv, lxvii.

9 Max Rooses and Jan Denucé, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (Antwerp – Ghent, Buschmann – Hoste, 1883–1920), 9 vols. See also, Maurice van Durme, *Supplément à la correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (Antwerp, Nederlandsche Bockhandel, 1955); Dávila, *Correspondencia*. Leon Voet wrote in 1980: “This aspect of Plantin’s breviary-editions [*the suggestions received from Spain*] remains to be studied in detail and is not treated at length in our Bibliography (many references in the *Correspondence*, but a large part of the documentation is still left unpublished in the Plantinian archives).” Voet, *The Plantin press*, vol. 1, p. 443. I am currently preparing a critical edition of all correspondence between Plantin and the Spanish Crown kept at the Plantin-Moretus Museum and several Spanish archives regarding the printing of Spanish breviaries and missals.

10 For two very important contributions to the study of some of the instructions sent by the Spanish Crown to Plantin, see Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 122–162; Karen L. Bowen, “Christopher Plantin, Philip II, and the Vatican: Negotiating between personal preferences and pragmatic considerations when designing the Antwerp editions of the new Tridentine missal”, *De gulden passer* 92 (2014), pp. 31–52.

However, Bowen and Imhof consider that the instructions sent to Plantin by the Spanish Crown and the changes made in the breviaries and missals were mainly motivated by personal preferences and that the only actors in the deal were Plantin, the Spanish Crown and Rome. Bowen, for example, claims that Plantin “declined to yield to Spanish requests in certain [*design*] matters that would have significantly impaired his ability to print the text efficiently” and that his lack of adherence to some of the instructions concerning the design of the missals were accepted by Montano and Philip II. Bowen, however, supports her claims with a misreading of a phrase that was written next to a number of suggestions sent to Plantin from Spain in July 1572. She reads “do not observe this” where it is written “[*Plantin*] did not observe this” (“no lo guardó”). Bowen, “Christopher Plantin”, pp. 36–38.

Significant commercial interests were behind Philip II's personal involvement in the publication of the breviaries and missals for Spain and his overseas possessions. They were also behind his agreement with Plantin for the printing of them. In October, 1570, Benito Arias Montano, the Polyglot Bible's supervisor and Plantin's personal friend, sent a letter to Gabriel de Zayas, Philip II's secretary, to convince the monarch of the convenience of granting the printing of breviaries and missals to Plantin rather than to a Roman or Venetian printer. Montano gave a single and simple reason for this choice: the economic benefits to the Spanish Crown would be ensured, given that Plantin could provide an excellent product at a much lower price than his competitors:

Philip II will get at least a third more, printing the breviaries here with Plantin than there in Rome or Venice; and, furthermore, the work will be without the intolerable errors of those printed in Rome and Venice. I know what printing is, how books are printed there, at what price, in what manner and the difficulties involved in printing with two colours. I say again that at least a half will be gotten printing them here. And I will add other advantages which will make people more eager to buy breviaries. The same will be true for the missals, which will come from here with many advantages. They will cost much less and His Majesty will earn a huge quantity of *escudos*.¹¹

Montano's words had the desired effect. In June of 1571, Philip II, in his instructions to Plantin, highlighted the commercial dimension of the project and the importance of publishing appealing books for that interest:

11 "[*Felipe II*] sacará por lo menos el tercio más, mandándolos imprimir [*the breviaries*] aquí [*with Plantin*] que allá [*in Rome or Venice*]; y allende de esto; la obra será buena y sin tachas como lo han tenido y tienen cuantos se imprimen en Roma y Venecia, que son intolerables. Yo se qué cosa es impresión, y cómo se imprime allá, y a qué precio y en cuál forma, y la dificultad que hay en imprimir a dos colores; y torno a decir, que la mitad por menos se ganará y aventajará, imprimiéndose acá. Y yo daré invenciones con que allende del breviario haya otros aprovechamientos que necesariamente acrecienten la codicia de comprar los breviarios. Lo mismo será de los misales que saldrán de aquí con grandísima ventaja, y valdrán muy más barato y sacará dellos S. M.d una grande cantidad de escudos." Letter of Arias Montano to Gabriel de Zayas, 9 October 1570. Martín Fernández Navarrete et al., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1842–1896), vol. 41, pp. 184–185. Quotations have been translated into English by the author. Translations are not always literal. Some literary licence has been taken in making the text more readable and clear.

And see if in this first printing of breviaries it would be better to not include this image of Saint Jerome nor of any other one..., but to leave them for other printings. I believe that this would be best...because new images and new features would help sell the second printing.¹²

However, the broad Spanish market for breviaries and missals had different expectations and needs from those imagined by Montano and the Spanish Crown. The difficulties of the Spanish Crown and Plantin in dealing with these needs played an important role in the commercial dimension of this publishing project. The content and the layout of the Spanish breviaries and missals printed by Plantin were not always sufficiently appealing for the Spanish clergy; they were not produced or delivered in sufficient quantity to meet the Spanish market's demand, and Plantin's prices for breviaries and missals were never competitive enough.

Although little is known about the success of the unified liturgy in Spain and, therefore, of the liturgy's books, the existence of differences in customs and rituals among dioceses, monastic orders, churches, monasteries and even between individuals suggests that accepting a unified model and renouncing one's habits were not easy tasks. The unified Roman breviary had been established in July 1568, but, in 1569, breviaries were still printed with Elna's and Santiago's customs and rites and, in 1571, with Lleida's.¹³ Toledo Cathedral had not yet accepted the Roman liturgical model in 1574; and, in 1577, Pedro Belarde, General Commissioner of the Crusade and responsible for the liturgical books for Spain, was still begging the archbishops, bishops, abbots, religious and members of the laity to respect the papal decrees regarding the celebration of the mass. The Crown had already addressed this problem in a letter sent to Plantin in 1573:¹⁴

Since in the Province of Spain there are many old clerics and monks for whom learning the ceremonies of the mass according to the new missal

12 "Y mírese si en esta primera impresión sería mejor no poner esta imagen [*of Saint Jerome*] ni ninguna otra ..., sino que se dejasen para otra impresión y creo que sería esto lo más conveniente, así porque...habiéndose de hacer segunda impresión se vendería y saldría mejor della llevando imágenes y cosas nuevas que no llevase la primera." *Lo que S. M.d ha advertido de su mano sobre la impresión del misal*, 19 June, 1571. Fernández Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. 41, p. 247. Criteria for transcription: word spellings and partitions, punctuation marks and capital letters have been translated into modern writing. Abbreviations have been expanded. Additions have been put between square brackets. Ellipses have been indicated with three full points.

13 Antonio Odriozola, *Catálogo de libros litúrgicos españoles y portugueses impresos en los siglos xv y xvi* (Pontevedra, Museo de Pontevedra, 1996), pp. 220, 237, 269.

14 Moll, 'Plantino', p. 10. On July, 1573, Philip II gave License to the Monastery of the Escorial to print and sell the Spanish liturgical books. Campos, 'Felipe II', p. 552.

would be very difficult..., such clerics are allowed to celebrate, for the rest of their lives, the mass as they have done. His Holiness must be satisfied with those ordained from now who will use and keep the rules of the new missal.¹⁵

These differences in customs and rites in Spain were, of course, reflected in the instructions sent to Plantin by the Spanish Crown for printing the breviaries and missals. For example, in 1571, Philip II sent a letter to his Secretary Gabriel de Zayas, wherein he wrote:

Regarding the quires that are tied apart which are of the Order of St. Jerome, I do not know if it would be good to make a division because maybe not all clerics will want to pray that Order and its Holy Days but only those of this Kingdom; and, if you agree, they could be divided into two quires: one with only the Saints of this Kingdom, the most general, for the clerics to pray it if they want; and the other with the Order's Holy Days for the exclusive use of its Order.¹⁶

That same year, Philip II wrote to Plantin:

After thinking more, I think that it is better to not put a picture of Saint Jerome in the first pages of the missal because, given that many of these missals must be useful for other Orders, I think that those Orders, ignorant of the reason for including it and thinking that that missal with that

15 "Que por quanto en la Provincia de España hay muchos clérigos y religiosos viejos y ancianos a los cuales sería cosa dura y dificultosa aprender ahora de nuevo las demás ceremonias de la misa como el nuevo misal las pone, y las oraciones que el sacerdote ha de decir quando se viste para celebrar, y las que dice después quando se va a desnudar acabada la misa, que los tales sacerdotes por sus días puedan decir misa sin escrúpulo con las ceremonias y oraciones que han usado, contentándose Su Santidad con que los que de aquí adelante de nuevo se ordenaren aprendan las nuevas ceremonias y oraciones y usen de ellas y las guarden conforme a las reglas del nuevo misal." *Cartas del señor...Bribiesca para las impresiones para España*, 1573(?). *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 179.

16 "De los cuadernos que están atados aparte, que son los de la Orden de San Jerónimo, no se si sería bueno hacer una división; porque quizá no todos los clérigos querrán rezar aquello y las fiestas de la orden, sino las destos reinos; y pareciendo bien, se podrían dividir aquellos en dos cuadernos, uno de solos los santos destos reinos los más generales, para que esto pudiesen rezar los clérigos si quisiesen, y otro de las fiestas de la Orden, para que este sirva solamente para los religiosos dellas." *Advertimientos de mano de S. M.d sobre los que había hecho el Padre Villalba para la impresión de los breviarios, diurnale y misales romanos nuevos*, 1 February, 1571. Fernández Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. 41, p. 199.

picture is of the Order of St. Jerome as were those missals printed until now, will feel bad using it. Given this, I think that this would be inconvenient. I think that the same would happen in many bishoprics. For this reason it seems to me that it is better that no picture goes at the beginning of the missal but only the title of the book since the missal is general and it could be useful for everyone or that it has on the beginning of each book the picture of the Saint of each order or of the main church of the bishopric for which should be. But I think that it is a shame and that it is better to not put pictures at the beginning, as I said.¹⁷

In addition to content, the form of the breviaries and missals was also an aspect that the Crown took into account in trying to ensure the commercial success of the publishing project and to meet the needs of all Spanish clergy. The breviary and missal market was wide and with varied needs. Questions of format, paper, illustrations and font sizes were questions that could not be left to chance if the Crown wanted to offer the breviary and missal best suited to every need. The instructions sent to Plantin included lots of details in these regards and they often made explicit reference to the different readerships and purposes of those features. The following examples will suffice to give an indication of the types of issue considered:

We order Plantin to try to print breviaries of *cámara* in folio and that the text and the glosses of these breviaries should be set with the same letter as the missals in folio, which is paragon letter since these breviaries must be for choirs and must have the text and glosses cast with the same blank, as it is said.¹⁸

17 "Habiéndolo pensado más me parece que no se ponga [*a picture of Saint Jerome in the first pages of the missal*] porque como muchos de estos misales han de servir para otras órdenes, creo que a los de ellas, no entendiendo la causa que hay para ello, sino pareciéndole quel misal al tener aquella imagen es de la Orden de San Jerónimo como los de hasta aquí se les hara el mal el tomarlo. Y así me parece que ésto sería de inconveniente, y lo mismo creo que sería en muchos obispados; y por esto me parece que en el principio [*of the missal*] no fuese imagen sino el título del libro pues es general y podría servir para todos o que llevase al principio para cada libro la imagen del santo de cada Orden o de la iglesia principal del obispado para donde hubiese de ser; pero téngolo ésto por embarazo y por mejor el no poner imagen en el principio como he dicho." *Lo que S. M.d ha advertido de su mano sobre la impresión del misal*, 19 June, 1571. Fernández Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. 41, pp. 246–247.

18 "Que Plantino procure luego de hacer otra impresión de breviarios de cámara en folio y que éstos sean de la misma letra el texto y la glosa de que son los misales en folio que es

Plantin must try to ensure that the ink is more black than before and the red more vivid because in the breviaries of 1573 the red is so dead that it cannot be read during the night.¹⁹

In the third *feria*...we order that the first letter...has to be majuscule... for the understanding that that is the part which must be repeated....²⁰

We order that four lines of gloss fill as much paper as four lines of text in order that, between line and line of gloss, there is more white space than between line and line of text as it is in the attached printed leaves because in this way the text can be more easily differentiated from the gloss.²¹

Deep study is necessary to fully understand the origins and evolution of the various features which the Spanish Crown wanted to include in Plantin's breviaries and missals.²² However, the instructions given to Plantin do suggest that (as with their content) the form of pre-Tridentine breviaries and missals were enormously influential, as was the market response. Again, a few examples give a good sense of the kinds of decisions being made:

We order [*Plantin*] to not print any breviaries in two volumes – part hie-mal and part estival – but to print all breviaries in one volume as it was stated in the *Advertimientos* because here nobody wants them in two volumes and even those few ones which arrived with the Queen Our Lady

la letra parangona que estos han de ser para los coros y han de tener texto y glosa fundida con mismo blanco como se dijo." *Advertimientos tocantes a la impresión que hace Cristóforo Plantino de misales y breviarios y horas*, 18 February 1573. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. [532].

19 "Que [*Plantin*] procure que las tintas sean más negras que hasta aquí y lo colorado más vivo porque en los breviarios del año 1573 viene lo colorado tan muerto que de noche no se puede leer." *Memorial para Cristóbal Plantino impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes de lo que ha de guardar acerca de las impresiones de misales breviarios horas y otras cosas*, 20 October 1573. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. [524].

20 "En la tercera [*feria*] ...se ha de poner letra mayúscula la primera para que se entienda que aquella es la parte que se ha de repetir...." *Memorial para Cristóforo Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes*, 1 February 1571. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. [428].

21 "Que cuatro renglones de glosa ocupen tanto papel como cuatro renglones de texto de manera que, entre renglón y renglón de glosa, quede más espacio blanco que entre renglón y renglón de texto como está en las hojas de molde que se le envían porque así se diferencia mejor el texto de la glosa." *Advertimientos para Cristóforo Plantino de lo que ha de guardar en la impresión de los misales que se han de imprimir para esta Provincia de España*, 1572(?). *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 1.

22 For some case studies, see Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 122–162; Bowen, "Christopher Plantin", pp. 31–52.

have mostly not been sold since all clerics and monks want them in one volume.²³

We order [*Plantin*] to not use this form of points because these points are not used in Spain nor do the clerics want to see them.²⁴

In the first nocturne of a martyr and of many martyrs, we order that the three whole Psalms are included...because it is asked like this by the clerics.²⁵

The rubrics of the missal must be set with the same letter which is used in the text of the missal and not with the letter of the gloss because the red texts, being set with a small letter, are read very badly, and if it is asked or has been asked by Rome that the rubrics must be set with a smaller letter than the text or with the letter of the gloss, this can be kept in the missals which were printed for Rome, but, in the missals printed for Spain, the rubrics must be set with the same letter than the text....²⁶

We have seen two types of diurnals which arrived with the one thousand breviaries of His Majesty. The letter of the smaller ones is not suitable for this Province because it is Flemish or French and that letter is not wanted here.²⁷

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- 23 "Que...no se impriman breviarios algunos en dos tomos parte hiemal y parte estival sino que toda la impresión sea de breviarios en un tomo según las formas que fueron en los advertimientos de la impresión porque acá no ay quien los quiera en dos tomos y aun estos pocos que vinieron con la Reina Nuestra Señora apenas se han podido vender que todos clérigos y frailes los quieren en un tomo." *Cartas del padre Villalba para la impresion para España*, 28 February 1571. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 261. This letter has been published in Dávila, *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, p. 33.
- 24 "Que en ninguna manera haga esta forma de puntos que estos puntos no se usan en España ni los quieren ver los eclesiásticos." *Advertimientos quanto a lo que toca al canto del misal*, 1571(?). *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 9.
- 25 "En el primer nocturno de un mártir y de muchos mártires se pongan los tres Salmos enteros sin réquiem porque así lo piden los clérigos." *Advertimientos para Cristóforo Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad acerca de los breviarios y diurnales de la Provincia de España*, 1571(?). *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 394.
- 26 "Las rúbricas del misal han de ser de la misma letra que es el texto del misal y no de la letra de la glosa porque lo colorado siendo de letra pequeña se lee muy mal. y si de roma piden o han pedido que las rubricas sean de letra menor que el texto o de la letra de la glosa esto se podra guardar en los misales que para roma se imprimieren mas en los misales que han de ser para españa las rubricas han de ser de la misma letra del texto como se ha escrito en la primera y segunda instruccion que de España se envió a Plantino y esta se ha de guardar." Respuesta de las dudas de Cristóforo Plantino acerca de la impresión de los misales con el canto español para España, July 1572. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 75.
- 27 "...se han visto dos formas de diurnales que vinieron con los mil breviarios de Su Magestad y la letra de los menores no conviene para esta Provincia porque es flamenca o francesa y acá no la quieren." *Memorial para Cristóforo Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en*

We order Plantin to try to print some breviaries in cotavo with good and white thick paper in one volume and to leave more margins than until now because all complained about the few margins that these breviaries have.²⁸

Given that this breviary will be general and it will be used to pray by some people who will not be very familiar with Latin, and by many nuns, it seems that it would be convenient that it come accented in those parts where the accents are difficult, marking such accents with some virgul... and such accents might follow the rules of Master Antonio de Nebrija, which are those used in Spain and this must also be kept in the missal printed for the churches of this Province of Spain.²⁹

Although almost all Plantin's presses were working on the liturgical books of the Spanish Crown, it seems that Plantin's production capacity was not sufficient, or, at least the breviaries and missals printed by him did not reach Spain with sufficient regularity. The instructions and letters sent to Plantin include many pointed references that "they are very much desired," "proceed with haste," "they are very necessary" or "force their printing."³⁰ Noted here are three very unambiguous examples. In 1572, the Crown wrote to Plantin:

Because nowadays there is in Spain a great need for missals, it is necessary that Plantin print some missals which do not have any chant nor pictures nor fringes nor vignettes, but only plain text...and this is the wish of His Majesty....³¹

Amberes, del orden que se ha de guardar en la impresión de los diurnales que ha de imprimir para esta Provincia de España, 1573(?). Missale et Breviarium, p. 541.

- 28 "Que [*Plantin*] procure imprimir algunos breviarios de 8° pero que sean de buen papel grueso y blanco en un cuerpo y que deje más márgenes que hasta aquí porque todos se quejan de los pocos márgenes que estos breviarios traen" *Advertimientos para Cristóbal Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes*, 21 February 1574. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 199.
- 29 "Por quanto este breviario ha de ser general y lo han de rezar algunas personas que no serán muy latinas y muchas monjas, parece convendría que viniese acentuado en las partes que el acento tuviese alguna dificultad señalando el dicho acento con alguna virgulita de esta manera Idólum (la tilde en rojo) y los tales acentos sean conforme a las reglas del maestro Antonio de Nebrija que es lo que en España se usa y esto mismo se guardará en los diurnales y en el misal y en los demás libros que para las iglesias de esta Provincia de España se hubiere de imprimir." *Memorial para Cristóforo Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes*, 1 February, 1571. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. [442].
- 30 Peligry, 'La Oficina Plantiniana', p. 67.
- 31 "Porque al presente hay en España necesidad grande de misales sería necesario que luego se imprimiese una jornada o tarea de misales los cuales no tubiesen canto alguno ni imágenes ni orlas ni viñetas sino sólo la letra llana y lo que toca al canto e imágenes y orlas y viñetas se podrá hacer en otra impresión y esta es la voluntad de Su Magestad y quiere

In 1574, Francisco de Villalba, Philip II's secretary, wrote to Plantin:

Here, we have great necessity of missals. We are scared since we have begged Your Worship to send any of them, and you have not. Those in quarto must already be finished and also the breviaries in quarto and those in two volumes, and they have not arrived nor do we have news about their arrival and here there is dire need of them.³²

And, in another letter of the same year, Villalba wrote:

Neither the thirty-nine bales nor others have arrived in Spain, and there is not one of your breviaries nor one of your missals and we do not know what we can do. I beg Your Worship, as earnestly as I can, that, by sea, if it is more convenient for you, or by land to Paris, you send all breviaries and missals which have been finished soon....³³

The high prices of Plantin's books and, therefore, the high price fixed by the Crown after adding its margins, were, undoubtedly, also an important issue. For example, in a letter sent to Plantin in 1573, the Crown asked him to reduce the prices of all liturgical books that he was printing for it because "in Spain, even though the paper is brought from France and the employees are paid twice as much, [*the liturgical books*] are produced for the same price as you print them in your office."³⁴ It seems that the request of the Crown was not successful or, in any case, that the Crown did not reduce their retail price.

que se haga así." *Advertimientos particulares que se han de guardar en la impresión del misal*, (1572?). *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 15.

32 "Acá se padece gran necesidad de misales. Estamos espantados como v.m. no nos envía alguna cantidad dellos pues tanto se lo hemos suplicado y los de quarto ya deben estar acabados y también los breviarios en quarto y los de dos tiempos y no han venido ni teníamos nueva que vengan y acá hay extrema necesidad de ellos." Letter of Francisco Villalba to Plantin, 24 January 1574. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 309.

33 "De las 39 balas y ni ellas ni otras han venido a España y no hay un breviario suyo [*of Plantin*] ni un misal ni sabemos que nos hacer. A v.m. suplico cuan encarecidamente puedo que ahora sea por mar si hubiere comodidad y sino por tierra a París envíe luego todos los breviarios y misales que estuvieren acabados que son grandemente necesarios y que en esto no haya falta." Letter of Francisco de Villalba to Plantin, 1 April 1574. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 313.

34 *Memorial para Cristóforo Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes de lo que ha de guardar acerca de las impresiones de misales, breviarios, horas y otras cosas*, 20 October, 1573. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. [504].

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Spanish clerics were still complaining about the high prices of these books. These complaints only ceased in 1615, when the margin of El Escorial was reduced from 33% to 25%.³⁵

The significant demand for breviaries and missals, the high prices of Plantin's books and probably also the features of those printed by Plantin which were not perfectly suited to the Spanish market, led the Spanish clergy to look for more available, cheaper and better suited breviaries and missals and led the Crown, under the pressure of the Spanish market, to order breviaries and missals from other printers in Spain and abroad. In 1573, the Crown wrote to Plantin:

We order to put in all works that you print the three Offices of Our Lady *ad longum*...because those works that come from Paris have it in this manner and they have much better order than those works that have come from your house as you will see.³⁶

And a little bit later it is written:

In the breviary, on 25 August, in the Holy Day of St. Louis, King of France, lacks the specific prayer of St. Louis which is in the missal and also is in the breviaries of Venice. In any case, we order to put it in the breviaries as it is in the missal.³⁷

In 1574, the Crown wrote to Plantin:

...We order that none of the breviaries come without the quire of the five Holy Days of the saints of Spain...and that you do not send any of these sheets without the breviaries at all, as you did the last time, because when

35 Peligry, 'La Oficina Plantiniana', pp. 73–74. See note 10.

36 "Que así mismo ponga en todas las obras que imprimiere los tres oficios de Nuestra Señora *ad longum* sin réquiem porque las que vienen de París lo tienen de esta manera y en todo traen muy mejor orden que las que han venido de su casa como lo podrá ver por ellas." *Memorial para Cristóforo Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes, de lo que ha de guardar acerca de las impresiones de misales, breviarios, horas y otras cosas*, 20 October 1573. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. [526].

37 "En el breviario a 25 de agosto en la fiesta de San Luis rey de Francia falta la oración propia de San Luis la cual pone el misal y también la ponen los breviarios de Venecia. Que se ponga en todo caso en los breviarios como está en el misal." *Memorial para Cristóforo Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes, de lo que ha de guardar acerca de las impresiones de misales, breviarios, horas y otras cosas*, 20 October 1573. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. 527.

these sheets with the Holy Days of the saints of Spain for the breviaries in folio as well as for those in octavo arrived, other sheets had been printed here and sold with the breviaries and these sheets are now lost for not having arrived on time....³⁸

There are several documents which touch upon the printing of breviaries and missals by other printers and upon the Crown's attempts to centralize their production in Spain.

For example, in January, 1573, Lucas of Giunta, a printer and bookseller of Salamanca reached an agreement with the Crown to print 2,100 breviaries; in September, 1573, the Crown gave breviaries and missals printed in Paris to the bookseller Blas de Robles, to be distributed and sold; in October, 1573, the Crown reached an agreement with Pedro Sánchez de Ezpeleta, a printer of Zaragoza, to print breviaries and missals, in July 1574, Juan de Ayala, a resident in Logroño, received liturgical books printed in Alcalá, Burgos, Salamanca and Venice for their distribution in two Spanish bishoprics; in September, 1574, Julio Giunta reached an agreement with the Crown to print 60,000 breviaries in Venice;³⁹ and, in 1575, 6,600 breviaries were printed (in total) by Lorenzo de Soto in Martín Muñoz, Felipe Giunta in Burgos and Matias Gast in Salamanca.⁴⁰

The scale of this important and attractive market and demand for cheaper breviaries and missals led to both the fraudulent sale of authorized editions and the publication of editions without royal permission.⁴¹ The first offered to the market a cheaper option for buying authorized editions since the retail price was fixed by the Crown. The second offered a price which was even cheaper, greater availability and some appealing design features which were not present in the authorized ones.

38 "Lo mismo se dice de los breviarios de cualquier suerte y forma que sean. Que ninguno de ellos [*the breviaries*] venga sin traer el cuaderno de las cinco fiestas de los santos de España cuyo original se le envía con ésta por si otro que se le envió no ha llegado. Y que en ninguna manera envíe estos pliegos sin los breviarios como hizo la vez pasada porque ya cuando estos pliegos de las fiestas de los santos de España para los breviarios así en folio como en 8º vinieron, se habían ya impresos otros acá y bendido con los breviarios y estos ahora quedan perdidos por no venir con tiempo...." *Advertimientos para Cristóbal Plantino, impresor de Su Magestad en Amberes*, 1574. *Missale et Breviarium*, p. [198].

39 Moll, 'Plantino', p. 11; Peligry, 'La Oficina Plantiniana', pp. 71–72; Yolanda Clemente Sanroman, *Tipobibliografía madrileña: la imprenta en Madrid en el siglo XVI (1566–1600)* (Kassel, Reichenberger, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 35–36; Moll, "Una imprenta", p. 324. Many other examples can be found in Moll, 'Plantino', pp. 14–21.

40 Moll, 'Plantino', pp. 19–20.

41 Peligry, 'La Oficina Plantiniana', p. 72.

None of the measures taken by the Crown to avoid such fraud and protect the commercial and editorial project were effective. In July, 1573, Philip II sent a royal provision to the members of his Council and to all judges in Castile to order that they should not allow the printing nor the selling of breviaries and missals without authorization. Officials visited bookstores and libraries to look for and destroy fraudulent editions; nonetheless, a huge quantity of breviaries and missals were printed and circulated without authorization in Spain as well as in its overseas territories.⁴² Not even Plantin respected Philip II's monopoly. He sold liturgical books to Spanish monks, clerics and booksellers without being authorized by the Crown. In a letter sent by the Crown to Plantin in 1574, it is written:

We order Plantin to not sell, in any way, to any merchant nor to any other person, any missal, breviary, horae or diurnal of those printed per the *Advertimientos* of Spain. And, in this [*in Plantin selling missals, breviaries and horae to merchants and others*], there was great abuse. And we also order Plantin to start to send all missals with the Spanish Chant that remain in your hands, but the original.⁴³

Given these factors, it is not surprising that the Crown made agreements with other printers, that orders to Plantin for liturgical books decreased from 1576, and that the Crown tried to produce those books in Spain.⁴⁴ Extant copies are a risky source of data for studying editorial successes and trends, but the Spanish extant Tridentine Missals printed between 1571 and 1576 seems to suggest that keeping Spanish rites and ceremonies and, probably, the form of their books, were important factors in the reaching of agreements with Spain-based printers, that the form of Plantin's breviaries and missals did not always respond to Spanish clergy's customs, and that, consequently, the Royal Crown probably found in Spain-based printers the solution to offer the breviaries and missals best suited to Spanish clergy's needs. The Spanish extant Tridentine

42 Peligry, 'La Oficina Plantiniana', pp. 70–72.

43 "Que no venda [*Plantin*] en manera alguna a mercader ni otra persona un misal, breviario, horas ni diurnal de los impresos conforme a los *Advertimientos* de España y que en ésto ha habido muy gran exceso y que todos los misales con el Canto español que han quedado en su poder se vayan enviando sin que le quede ninguno mas del original." *Lo que advierte el Padre Villalba que se ha de servir a Cristóforo Plantino, prototipógrafo de Su Magestad*, 1574(?). *Missale et Breviarium*, fol. 363.

44 Moll, 'Plantino', p. 22. For other causes of the decrease in orders to Plantin and his relation with Spain after 1576, see Robben, *Cristóbal Plantino (1520–1589) y España* (Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General del Libro y Bibliotecas, 1991), pp. 56–61.

missals printed between 1571 and 1576 confirm Plantin as the most important provider of missals for Spain between those years – approximately forty editions are kept in Spanish libraries, sixteen of them printed by Plantin, eleven printed in Spain, nine in Venice and four in Paris – but the extant Spanish Tridentine missals also show that Spain-based printers were, instead, the main providers of missals with the Spanish rites and ceremonies and probably with the form the Spanish clergy asked for. Only six editions of the 16 printed by Plantin have the Spanish rites and ceremonies, but ten of the eleven editions printed in Spain have them.⁴⁵

Although further study is needed, the correspondence between Plantin and the Spanish Crown, with the Crown's suggestions and corrections, suggest that the needs of the Spanish market played an important role in how this publishing project was managed and in its commercial failure and lead us to ask if Plantin's qualities, which had been praised by Montano in his letter of 1570 to Zayas, were also appreciated outside the elite to which Montano, Philip II and his Secretaries belonged. Royal chaplains, leaders of the Spanish hierarchy, and the more important monastic houses, so dependent on foreign books, were certainly receptive to Plantin's books and fame and they continued to show a predilection for Plantin's editions after 1576. How the breviaries and missals printed by Plantin between 1571 and 1576 were perceived by the Spanish clergy seems, instead, to have been a very different story.

45 The information about the extant copies has been taken from the *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* (http://ccpb_opac.mcu.es/cgi-brs/CCPB/abnetopac/O9062/IDd460f568?ACC=101) and from Odriozola, *Catálogo*, 1998.

Centre and Periphery? Relations between Frankfurt and Bologna in the Transnational Book Trade of the 1600s*

Caroline Duroselle-Melish

At first glance, Ulisse Aldrovandi's natural encyclopedia was a local and personal affair; it was written and printed in Bologna following the naturalist's precise instructions, and it was in large part a self-financed publication. Nevertheless, it was a thoroughly transnational work: Aldrovandi drew on sources from all around Europe and beyond, he could not have conceived of it without a Europe-wide readership. Born in 1522 to a Bolognese family, Ulisse Aldrovandi taught natural history at the University of Bologna until a few years before his death in 1605. In addition to his teaching, he built extensive collections of books and natural objects. Aldrovandi's multi-volume encyclopedia was a Renaissance work in scope and content. Yet it was published for the most part posthumously, throughout the seventeenth century. The Bolognese naturalist began planning for it in the late 1570s but only had time to supervise the publication of the first four volumes before his death in 1605. While eight posthumous volumes and further editions of each volume were printed in Bologna, a pirated edition started emerging from Frankfurt presses in 1610 and continued to be produced there until the end of the seventeenth century.

Ian Maclean has recently outlined the shape of the learned book trade.¹ International by nature and mostly written in Latin, learned books were produced and distributed in Europe through the system of book fairs, epitomized by the iconic Frankfurt bookfair, which began in the late 1500s and was gaining prestige through the early 1600s. This essay explores the place and importance of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia within this framework by examining its publishing history, distribution and reception. This enables us to better understand the early transnational modes of the production and distribution of a large

* I would like to thank Diane Booton, Roger Gaskell, Susan Halpert, and Jacob Melish for reading this text and providing valuable comments, and Jack Eckert for his availability and generous assistance answering my questions about the Frankfurt volumes and for providing images of them.

1 Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: the Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2012).

reference book, and the two-way relations this entailed between two cities: Frankfurt at the heart and Bologna on the edges of the European book trade. As we shall see, the complex relations between these two cities question the idea of centre and periphery in regard to the book trade.

The Setting: Bologna and Frankfurt Book Culture in the Late 1500s–Early 1600s

When Aldrovandi started publishing his encyclopedia in 1599, Bologna counted among its inhabitants a healthy number of book professionals.² Many of them were associated with the university, which played an important role in the economy of Bologna, including in its book trade activities. The university was still one of the largest and most distinguished academic institutions in Italy: it counted fifteen hundred students who came from Italy, Spain, and Northern and Central Europe, and it continued to attract renowned scholars from all over Europe.³ Among the roster of teaching luminaries were two best-selling authors: Carlo Sigonio (1524?–84), professor of the humanities, and Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606), professor of medicine in Bologna from 1587 to 1593. Both authors had editions of their books brought to press by various publishers in several countries.⁴ Booksellers strove to satisfy the needs of students and professors, which ranged from textbooks to new scholarly works. Carlo Sigonio, Girolamo Mercuriale, and Ulisse Aldrovandi were among the faculty who possessed important book collections of their own. Aldrovandi owned one of the largest libraries in town with almost 4000 volumes. Booksellers also engaged in publishing activities together with local printers and they often drew their pool of authors from the university.

2 Caroline Duroselle-Melish, 'A Local-Transnational Business: The Book Trade in Late Renaissance Bologna', in Gian Mario Anselmi, Angela De Benedictis and Nicholas Terpstra (eds.), *Bologna. Cultural Crossroads from the Medieval to the Baroque: Recent Anglo-American Scholarship* (Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2013), pp. 27–42.

3 David Lines, 'Gabriele Paleotti and the University of Bologna: Documents from Bologna's Archivio Arcivescovile' and Christopher Carlsmith, 'Student Colleges in Early Modern Bologna', *Bologna. Cultural Crossroads*, pp. 63–64 and 71–81. See also Paul Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

4 Mercuriale had editions of his books printed in various Italian cities, Basel, Frankfurt and Paris while Sigonio's books were printed in Italy, Frankfurt and three other German cities, Lyon, Paris and Basel (one can search these various editions in the Union Short Title Catalog at <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/search>).

The Senate of Bologna also played a central role in the intellectual life of the city, overseeing all university matters and promoting publishing incentives. The most active Bolognese printers were those subsidized by the City Senate and the local church. The Rossi and the Benacci families were printer-publishers who benefitted from this policy from the mid-1550s. Altogether they printed over two thousand titles, from public announcements to scholarly books, which were written or destined for a learned audience.⁵ Their monopoly in local publishing and printing would last through the mid-seventeenth century.

Frankfurt book culture during the same period was on a different scale: the German city was the main centre of the European learned book trade and was a very active printing hub. Unlike their Bolognese counterparts, Frankfurt book professionals did not rely so heavily on a local clientele for their business; rather they worked closely in connection with the business generated by the book fair held twice a year, in spring and autumn.⁶ The fair offered an abundance of authors for publishers who, as a result, often specialized in the reprinting of editions originally produced elsewhere in Europe. Some of the most successful local publishers, such as Sigmund Feyerabend (1528–1590) and André Wechel (active 1554–1581), based their trade on such practice. Shrewd businessmen, they did not hesitate to reprint or pirate editions, which were, supposedly, protected by a privilege in the same geographical jurisdiction as Frankfurt. The local authorities neither regulated the Frankfurt publishing industry effectively nor protected it against printing pirates. Although the city offered many trade opportunities, doing business in Frankfurt was ruthless and competitive, and this partly explains the short-lived activity of numerous publishing firms – even Feyerabend ended up bankrupt.⁷ To counter the financial risks, publishers often partnered one another in joint ventures.⁸

Science was one of the fields in which Frankfurt publishing firms specialized: whether or not they were first printed there, many seminal scientific works were published in Frankfurt in the late 1500s and early 1600s.⁹ A book collector such as Ulisse Aldrovandi would have been aware of this in his own

5 The Benaccis were active from 1558 to 1668 and the Rossis from c. 1556 to 1629.

6 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, pp. 1–6, 202.

7 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p.186 and Hildegard Starp, 'Das Frankfurter Verlagshaus Schönwetter 1598–1726', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* vol.1 (Frankfurt am Main, Buchhandler-Vereinigung, 1958), p. 73.

8 The publishers Johann Bassée (active 1601–1613), and Johann Traudt (active 1603–1640), for example, partnered to publish the first volumes of the Frankfurt edition of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia.

9 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, pp. 200–201. See also Dieter Skala, "Wissenschaftliche Werke", *Brücke zwischen den Völkern – Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Messe* Vol. III (Frankfurt

collection, of which twenty-four of the fifty-three Frankfurt imprints pertained to the sciences, mostly in medicine.¹⁰

Bookseller-agents across Europe came to the fair to acquire books for their local and regional clientele. In the late 1500s, the bookseller-publisher Gaspare Bindoni (1558–1618), who had set up his business in Bologna, travelled to Frankfurt once or twice a year and brought back the latest novelties to the Italian city. Aldrovandi relied on booksellers such as Bindoni to obtain the books he wished to acquire.

Alongside its book trade, Frankfurt had an important artistic community and a thriving book-illustration culture. This might explain why Feyerabend first came to Frankfurt as a woodcutter. Here again, Aldrovandi must have been aware of this aspect of the city's character when, in 1590, he hired the draughtsman Cornelio Schwindt from Frankfurt to make the majority of the drawings on the woodblocks for the illustrations in his encyclopedic volumes.

The Publication of Aldrovandi's Encyclopedia in Bologna

Ulisse Aldrovandi published four volumes – three on birds and one on insects – over the six years preceding his death. Altogether these volumes totalled over two thousand five-hundred pages and included more than two thousand woodcuts.¹¹ The naturalist was very much involved in the design of these books. His criteria for their layout were legibility and usability, following mid-sixteenth-century book design standards. The intervention of an author was not uncommon at this time, especially when he was the one who was financing, either partially or entirely, the printing of his work as was the case with the Bolognese author.

am Main, Historisches Museum, 1991), pp. 207–210 and Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, *Matthäus Merian d.Ä.: eine Biographie* (Hamburg, Hoffman und Campe, 2007), pp. 185–242.

10 Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (BUB), Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 147 and search in Sebina OPAC (sol.unibo.it/SebinaOpac/Opac?sysb=).

11 The most complete list of the Bolognese and Frankfurt editions of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia has been compiled by Biancastella Antonino in "Opere a stampa di Ulisse Aldrovandi" in *L'Erbario di Ulisse Aldrovandi: natura arte e scienza in un tesoro del Rinascimento*, ed. Biancastella Antonino (Milan, Federico Motta, 2003), p. 254. See also Claus Nissen, *Die zoologische Buchillustration, ihre Bibliographie und Geschichte. Band 1: Bibliographie* (Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1969), pp. 17–18, and *Die illustrierten Vogelbücher: ihre Geschichte und Bibliographie* (Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1953), pp. 82–83. One should also consult OPAC SBN (opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/base.jsp) and VD 17 (www.vd17.de).

Unsurprisingly, Aldrovandi planned on using a folio format for his books, the standard format for encyclopedic works. He instructed his printer Francesco de Franceschi (active 1558–99) to print the text in one column on each page in a reasonably large roman typeface and to use good quality paper and type.¹²

Aldrovandi also gave the printer precise instructions about where to place the woodblocks that he was having made in his studio. This degree of control was necessary for the naturalist, who envisioned a close relationship between his text and the images, and who wished for his readers to alternate smoothly between textual and visual examination and identification. In his text, Aldrovandi made explicit references to his images and he had them placed in proximity to their textual descriptions whenever possible. He also set captions above the pictures when they were not on the same page as the relevant text (figure 3.1).

The majority of the woodcuts in his printed volumes were large – sometimes barely fitting on the page – because they closely reproduced the drawings, made on even larger sheets of paper, which the naturalist had collected in bound albums.¹³ These large images could either purposely magnify species, symbolically rendering their rank in the natural realm, or represent them life-size.¹⁴ Aldrovandi also took great care in the design of the engraved title pages of his volumes and made sure to include depictions of the patrons who had contributed to his publishing costs.¹⁵ Indeed, his publishing venture required vast amounts of money and left him constantly searching for patronage. Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) and the Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria II della Rovere (1549–1631), among others, participated in the financing of several volumes but even their assistance did not prevent Aldrovandi's monetary difficulties.¹⁶

These financial troubles made Aldrovandi even more concerned about the sale of his books and thus explain the detailed clause in his contract with de

12 Archivio di Stato di Bologna (ASB), Fondo archivistico notarile, Colloc. 6/7, Rogiti di Achille Canonici, Anno 94–95, Prot. O., c.179v–182r, transcribed in G.B. Vai & W. Cavazza (eds.), *Four Centuries of the Word Geology* (Bologna, Minerva, 2003), pp. 118–121.

13 BUB, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, Tavole vols. 1–10.

14 Janice Neri, *The Insect and the Image: Visualizing Nature in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pp.32–45 and Laurent Pinon, *Livres de zoologie de la Renaissance: une anthologie, 1450–1700* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1995), pp. 24–25.

15 Laurent Pinon, "Portrait emblématique du parfait mécène: comment Ulisse Aldrovandi remercie le cardinal Montalto", in Maria Pia Donato and Jill Kraye (eds.), *Conflicting Duties: Science, Medicine and Religion in Rome, 1550–1750* (London, Warburg Institute, 2009), pp. 59–79.

16 Pinon, 'Portrait emblématique du parfait mécène', pp. 59–79.



FIGURE 3.1 A typical woodcut illustration with its caption in Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, *Ornithologiae hoc est De auibus historiae libri XII...* (Bologna, Francesco de Franceschi, 1599), volume 1, p. 487.

ERNST MAYR LIBRARY OF THE MUSEUM OF COMPARATIVE ZOOLOGY,
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Franceschi regarding the distribution of the eleven hundred copies of each volume he had printed: he instructed de Franceschi to sell nine hundred copies in Frankfurt, Venice, and Padua, and two hundred in Bologna.¹⁷ Clearly, the author saw the international book market as one of the primary outlets for his books. This is not surprising from a scholar who was an active member of the Europe-wide Republic of Letters. Moreover, after having purchased hundreds of books in Frankfurt over a decade, Aldrovandi now saw the German town as a place where he could sell copies of his own work. A comment made by Carlo Sigonio to Aldrovandi about how anxious he was to have one of his books printed on time to be shipped to the following Frankfurt fair confirms the eagerness of both authors to have their books sold in that city.¹⁸ The booksellers de Franceschi, Gaspare Bindoni, and later the Societa Veneta all sold Aldrovandi's encyclopedia in Frankfurt.¹⁹

Aldrovandi's awareness of the book market is likewise shown in the privileges he attained for his books: after having secured two Italian privileges in 1599 and an imperial one in 1602, he then received a single imperial privilege to protect past and future volumes of his work. This suggests that Aldrovandi had by then identified the main threat of reprints to be from Northern Europe.²⁰

The Publication of the Posthumous Volumes in Bologna

The material that Aldrovandi left at his death for the publication of his encyclopedia amounted to hundreds of volumes of notes and piles of papers.²¹

17 Aldrovandi also had twenty five copies printed on higher quality paper to give to his patrons and important figures. *Four Centuries of the Word Geology*, p. 119.

18 Maria Gioia Tavoni, 'Stampa e fortuna delle opere di Ulisse Aldrovandi', *Atti e memorie, nuova serie* (Bologna, Presso la Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1992), vol. XLII, p. 220.

19 *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis autumnalibus de anno 1599...* (Frankfurt, Johannes Saur printer, Peter Kopf bookseller, [1599]), fol. C4r; *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno 1603...* (Frankfurt, Johannes Saur printer, Peter Kopf bookseller, [1603]), fol. Cr; *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus de anno 1603...* (Frankfurt, Johannes Saur printer, Peter Kopf bookseller, [1603]), fol. B4r. See also Georg Draud, *Biblioteca classica sive, Catalogus officinalis...* (Frankfurt, Balthasar Ostern publisher, 1625), p. 1205.

20 These privileges do not appear in the first volume of the bird trilogy, perhaps because they were obtained after the printing was completed.

21 'Inventario et descrizione somaria dello Studio et Museo del già eccell.mo sig.re Ulisse Aldrovandi, per esso lasciato all'ill.mo Reggimento, descritto nel modo che hora si trova in casa dell'Autore', in Cristiana Scappini and Maria Pia Torricelli, *Lo Studio Aldrovandi in*

While the naturalist had the time to complete manuscripts on certain subjects, a number of others remained unfinished.²² Likewise, although he had secured the production of a substantial number of woodblocks ready for printing, many remained uncut.²³

The first posthumous volume published was completed in 1606 by Giovanni Battista Bellagamba (active 1596–1613), the printer responsible for Aldrovandi's encyclopedia after de Franceschi's death. Aldrovandi's widow, Francesca Fontana, who had long been her husband's assistant, acted as the editor of the volume, arranging for its title page to be engraved and writing its preface.²⁴ While the title page drew attention to the Senate of Bologna by putting it in the foreground and by including a view of the city and its insignia (figure 3.2), the preface enticed it to take over the publication of Aldrovandi's work as well as the maintenance of his studio following the naturalist's wishes.

The choice of the Senate as the executor of Aldrovandi's will was logical since the civic institution was involved in the academic and publishing matters of the city. Furthermore, Aldrovandi had served his hometown well. As a patrician from a well-to-do family of notaries, he had played a significant role in Bolognese affairs.²⁵ More importantly, Aldrovandi was famous throughout Europe for his teaching – he held one of the first chairs in natural history – and for his museum collection, which attracted visitors from all around Europe. The Senate benefitted from this fame as it did from that of other Bolognese luminaries: they helped place the Emilian town on the European map. Later in

Palazzo Pubblico, 1617–1742, ed. by Sandra Tugnoli Pattaro (Bologna: CLUEB, 1993), pp. 93–94.

- 22 Aldrovandi had the list of his manuscripts printed in the second volume of the ornithology series, 'Catalogus operum Ulyssis Aldrovandi. De Rebus naturalibus, ac aliis scientiis, quorum alia iconibus insigniuntur, alia non', in Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae tomus alter... cum indice copiosissimo variorum linguarum...* (Bologna, Giovanni Battista Bellagamba, 1600), vol.2, fols. † recto- 3 † verso.
- 23 In his will, Aldrovandi thus recommended for his principal woodcutter Cristoforo Coriolano to be hired to continue cutting the blocks left to be done. Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Memorie della vita di Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Bologna, per le Stampe di Lelio dalla Volpe, 1774), p. 79.
- 24 Francesca Fontana, 'Illustrissimis. Ac prudentissimis senatoribus Bonon.', Ulisse Aldrovandi, *De Reliquis animalibus exanguibus libri quatuor, post mortem eius editi...* (Bologna, Giovanni Battista Bellagamba, 1606), fols [unsigned]1–2r. On Francesca Fontana see also Paula Findlen, 'Masculine Prerogatives: Gender, Space, and Knowledge in the Early Modern Museum', in Peter Galison and Emily Thompson (eds.), *The Architecture of Science* (Cambridge, MA and London, The MIT Press, 1999), pp. 29–57.
- 25 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996), pp. 277–287.

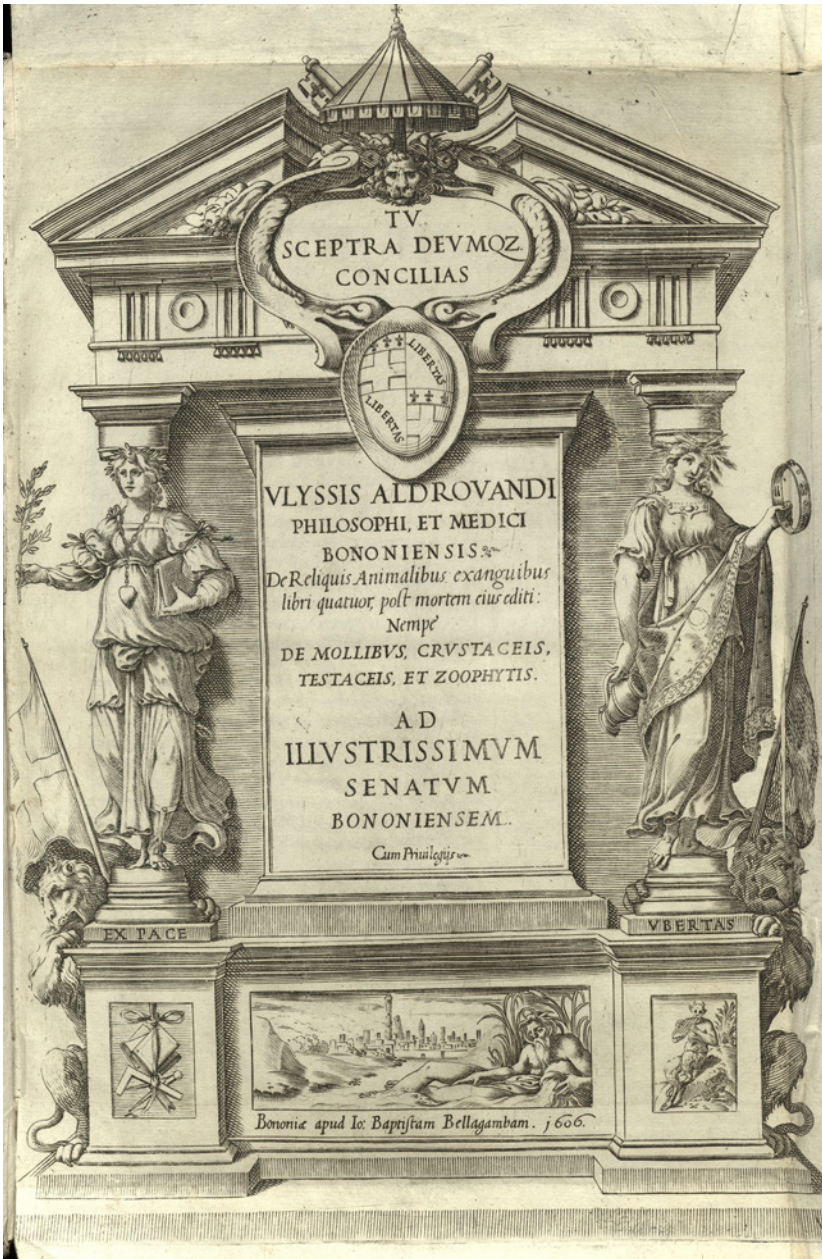


FIGURE 3.2 Title page showing a view of Bologna and its insignia. Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, *De reliquis animalibus exanguibus libri quatuor, post mortem eius editi: nempe de mollibus, crustaceis, testaceis, et zoophytis...* (Bologna, Giovanni Battista Bellagamba, 1606).

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the seventeenth century, Aldrovandi's studio would be one of the main attractions for prestigious visitors to the city such as the French king Louis XIII (1601–1643) in 1640 and Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626–1689), in 1655. During their visits, the two rulers were given copies of the naturalist's encyclopedia.²⁶ In 1609 the Senate hired the bookseller-publisher Girolamo Tamburini (active c. 1607–1621) to handle the practical tasks of the printing and the distribution of the forthcoming volumes of the encyclopedia, and in 1610 it nominated the Dutchman Cornelius Uterver (d. 1619) – Aldrovandi's onetime student who now held his chair of natural history – to become the keeper of the naturalist's studio and the editor of the encyclopedia.²⁷ The Senate was just as worried about the sale of the encyclopedia as Aldrovandi had been. This anxiety was caused by the Senate's having inherited the publishing debts accumulated by the naturalist and specifically by the threat of the Duke of Urbino's agent, Giuglio Cuppellini, who demanded that the money be repaid through the sale of the volumes.²⁸

Clearly the Senate had chosen Tamburini not only because he published books on scholarly subjects – astronomy, medicine, and philosophy – similar to those addressed by Aldrovandi but also because he focused his business on bookselling.²⁹ In fact, one of his first tasks was to sell the remaining published volumes, which were still with Francesca Fontana. Moreover, although Tamburini's catalogue of authors – all Bolognese and the majority of them professors at the university in Bologna – showed how deeply rooted he was in the city, his production of a book in Venice in 1607 underscored his connections with the Venetian book trade as well.

Just like Aldrovandi, the Senate envisioned the international distribution of the volumes. This explains why at first it had chosen Gaspare Bindoni as the publisher of the posthumous volumes since he was familiar with both national and international markets. Bindoni, however, was in financial troubles at that time and seems to have disappeared from the Bolognese book scene.³⁰

26 Scappini, *Lo Studio Aldrovandi*, pp. 47 and 64.

27 Aldrovandi had required that his collections remain in his house until his wife's death, Scappini, *Lo Studio Aldrovandi*, pp. 50–55.

28 Scappini, *Lo Studio Aldrovandi*, pp. 52–53 and ASB, Assunteria di Studio, 100, fasc. 6, 'Carte relative allo Studio Aldrovandi'. The Duke loaned five hundred scudi to Aldrovandi for the publication of the book on insects. A second loan, without a request for full repayment, was made to print the following volume. Aldrovandi had then guaranteed that he would reimburse this loan with the money from the sale of the books.

29 Tamburini's titles are searchable in Sebina OPAC and OPAC SBN.

30 ASB, Assunteria di Studio, 100, fasc. 6, 'Carte relative allo Studio Aldrovandi'.

The Senate projected that it would print a total of seven volumes at the pace of one volume per year.³¹ It allocated two-hundred lire for the printing of each volume with funds provided by the '*Gabella Grossa*', a tax by which the city traditionally covered many of the expenses of the university. The Senate planned to reimburse the city once the volumes had been sold. It instructed Tamburini to pay a learned corrector ('*dottore*') who, after he had worked on a manuscript copy for three months, was then supposed to release it with his corrections at the pace of one complete sheet per day.³²

Wishing to remain faithful to Aldrovandi's memory, the Senate instructed Tamburini to use the same book layout as the one planned by the naturalist for his encyclopedia. The publisher could borrow the drawings and the wood-blocks from Aldrovandi's studio but he was required to return them to the Senate when he was finished with them. The Senate also directed Tamburini to have no more than ten new blocks made per title, no doubt an effort to save money. As a result, several of the posthumous volumes had few illustrations.³³ One exception was the volume on plants, which was scheduled for publication last and for which few blocks had been prepared by Aldrovandi: the publisher was required to have all the blocks made at his own expense.³⁴ Finally, the Senate granted Tamburini the freedom to dedicate the volumes to any "prince, important figure or republic" he wished.³⁵ Clearly choosing a patron had more financial than political implications.³⁶

Editors succeeded each other and volumes did too but at a slow pace. Twenty years after the contract had been signed with Tamburini, only three volumes had been printed. The Senate had obviously miscalculated how long

31 An extra volume on quadrupeds, not planned in 1610 by the Senate, was published along the way. Tamburini's contract has been transcribed in Scappini, *Lo Studio Aldrovandi*, pp. 95–98.

32 The Senate, however, hired the corrector. It appears to have selected in the 1620s a certain Giovanni Cottuni, learned in Ancient Greek language and literature to work on the posthumous volumes, ASB, Assunteria di Studio, 100, fasc.6, "Carte relative allo Studio Aldrovandi". A printshop could print four to five sheets per day on average see Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 104.

33 Nissen, *Die zoologische Buchillustration*, pp. 17–18.

34 Tamburini would then be the sole owner of these new blocks.

35 Scappini, *Lo Studio Aldrovandi*, p. 96.

36 The posthumous volumes published under Tamburini were protected by the same imperial privilege as the one obtained by Aldrovandi. Tamburini or the Senate had thus reapplied and paid for an imperial privilege, which was not inheritable. Later volumes did not have a privilege as, by then, the Holy Roman Empire was no longer an effective power. Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 140.

such an ambitious project would take. From the beginning, there were delays in the publication of the volumes. The first one was completed two years after its scheduled publication date.³⁷ Uterver's preface complaining about the numerous errors which it contained, and the blame he directed towards the printer suggest that his relations with Tamburini were by then strained.³⁸ The coat of arms of the volume's patron, the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, was represented in the decorative border on the title page and his name was listed prominently on the engraved title page along with those of Uterver and Tamburini. Likewise, in later volumes, the names of the editor, publisher, and patron featured prominently above Aldrovandi's, emphasizing that the posthumous volumes were the result of a collaborative effort.

Uterver was able to complete the writing of another volume before his death in 1619. In 1620 the Senate hired the Scotsman Thomas Dempster (1579–1625) as the next editor and custodian of Aldrovandi's museum. This appointment was made upon the pressing request of Tamburini who had then started printing a third posthumous volume, which was eventually published in 1621.³⁹ The subsequent editor, Bartolomeo Ambrosini (1588–1657), hired in 1632, completed four more volumes in a span of eight years. His student, Ovidio Montalbani (1602–1671), edited the last posthumous volume of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia.⁴⁰

After a hiatus of over ten years following Tamburini's death in 1621, the Senate hired the bookseller Marco Antonio Bernia (active c.1637–1661) in 1637 to continue the publishing project. Prior to his employment, however, an agreement had been signed in the fall of 1636 with the brothers Manolesi, publishers and booksellers in Bologna. This contract, still extant, indicates that the Senate was interested at this time in reprinting the volumes previously published but which were by then out of print.⁴¹ Concerned about the quality of the volumes to be reprinted, the Senate emphasized, as in Tamburini's

37 The date on the colophon of 1612 indicates when the printing of the book was completed. The date on the title page of 1613 indicates probably when the title page was engraved and the text on the title page printed. This discrepancy of dates between title page and colophon occurs on many of the posthumous volumes, and reflects the different stages of production of the volumes.

38 Cornelius Uterver, 'Ioan. Cornelius Uterverius Delphensis. Lectori benevolo S.' in Ulysse Aldrovandi, *De Piscibus libri V. et de cetis lib...* (Bologna, Giovanni Battista Bellagamba, 1613), fol. [unsigned] 3r.

39 Ulysse Aldrovandi, *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia...* (Bologna, Sebastiano Bonomi printer, Girolamo Tamburini publisher, 1621).

40 On the editors of the posthumous volumes see Scappini, *Lo Studio Aldrovandi*, pp. 49–78.

41 ASB, Assunteria di Studio, 100, fasc. 7, "Convenzione per la stampa dell'Opere dal Dott. Ulysse Aldrovandi".

contract, the necessity to maintain the layout of the original volumes and to use new type as well as good quality paper. New title pages had to be engraved by the best Bolognese artists and new blocks were to be cut when the old ones were too damaged to be reused. Furthermore, the errors in the published volumes had to be corrected. Although this agreement with the Manolessi brothers fell through, a vast reprinting project was undertaken in 1637 under Bernia's direction. By then, almost thirty years had passed since the initial publication of the posthumous volumes. The Senate could no longer provide the same financial support to the project and Bernia was left to raise money on his own both for the reprinting of past volumes and the printing of new volumes.⁴² Like his predecessor, Bernia worked in collaboration with several printers on different volumes.⁴³

The editors of the posthumous volumes introduced changes to the content and layout of the volumes despite their efforts to remain faithful to Aldrovandi's original design. They inserted references to new observations and to recent works, making the volumes more relevant to a seventeenth-century audience. They also had more and more difficulty relating the text to the images made from the blocks in Aldrovandi's collection. Increasingly, sequences of images were printed in the volumes with neither explanatory text nor captions.⁴⁴ Editors were at a loss to develop a narrative to go along with these pictures. Often, their only reason for the reproduction of the images in the book was that they had been found in Aldrovandi's museum.⁴⁵

The Publication of the Encyclopedia in Frankfurt

While the Bolognese were preparing for the publication of the posthumous volumes, the Frankfurt publishers were planning a reprint edition of the volumes already published in the Italian city. Yet the first volume of the Frankfurt edition only appeared in 1610, eleven years after the publication of the first

42 "Di piu detto instrumento obliga detti Bernia stampare a tutte sue spese il rescovo delle opere di dto Aldrovando", ASB, Assunteria di Studio, 100, fasc. 6, "Carte relative allo Studio Aldrovandi".

43 Tamburini worked with the printers Giovanni Battista Bellagamba, Sebastiano Bonomi (active c. 1585–1623), and Vittorio Benacci (d.1629), Bernia with the printers Nicolo Tebaldini (active 1620–1646) and Giovanni Battista Ferroni (active 1624–1673).

44 See for example Aldrovandi, *De Piscibus libri V...*, pp. 679–687 or *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum...* pp. 635, 736 and 756.

45 Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium* (Bologna, Nicolo Tebaldini printer, Marco Antonio Bernia publisher, 1642), p. 403.

Bolognese volume. This was a long delay compared with other Frankfurt reprints, which were usually published shortly after the first editions. The Frankfurt reprint of Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius*, for example, was completed within six months of the original Venice edition being available for sale in Frankfurt.⁴⁶ The date 1601 engraved on the title page of the first Frankfurt-produced Aldrovandi volume may not be, therefore, an error but instead may reflect the Frankfurt publisher's initial plan to have had the first volume out nine years earlier. Aldrovandi's volumes were massive and contained hundreds of illustrations; their production required major financial investments. They had all the characteristics that should have discouraged pirate publishers.

Unsurprisingly the publishing firm that initiated the reprinting of the Bolognese volumes was one of the wealthiest in Frankfurt at the time. It was run by the heirs of Nicolas Bassée (active 1562–1598): Johann Bassée (active 1601–1613), and Johann Traudt (active 1603–1640).⁴⁷ The printing was done by the prosperous printer Wolfgang Richter (active 1596–1626), who owned five presses in 1615, and who worked for well-known publishers such as the de Bry family.⁴⁸

Bassée's heirs did not make any claim about offering their customers a new edition of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia, either on their title page or in their preface. Nor did they add any new text to the Bolognese volume, which they reprinted in its entirety although they shortened the multi-lingual index, moved it to the front of the book, and mentioned it on the title page as a selling point. They also did not reproduce all the images of specimens depicted in the Bolognese volume.⁴⁹

The Frankfurt publishers designed their edition with little concern for the original layout of Aldrovandi's books and, as a result, introduced a number of significant changes. Bassée and Traudt's decorated title page depicted birds,

46 Paul Needham, *Galileo Makes a Book: the First Edition of Sidereus Nuncius, Venice 1610* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2011), pp. 189–210.

47 Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 124–125.

48 By comparison the two most important printers in Bologna Rossi and Benacci had respectively four and three presses in 1629. Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, p. 245 and Pierangelo Belletini, "Il torchio e i caratteri: l'attrezzatura tipografica a Bologna in età moderna", in A. Ganda, E. Grignani and A. Petruciani (eds.), *Libri tipografi biblioteche. Ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo* Istituto di Biblioteconomia e Paleografia Università degli Studi di Parma (Florence, Olschki, 1997), pp. 245–246.

49 Nissen, *Die zoologische Buchillustration*, pp. 17–18 and *Die illustrierten Vogelbücher*, pp. 82–83.

the subject of the first volume they printed, as well as insects, implicitly announcing their plan to publish further volumes on other subjects (figure 3.3). This title page would serve as a brand label for the Frankfurt edition and was later reused even in the volumes dealing with other species. They also used a typeface about half the size of the one used in Bologna and printed the text in two columns instead of one. Finally they used engravings instead of woodcuts to reproduce the illustrations from the original edition.

Images of specimens were combined on a page sometimes to the point of overcrowding (figures 3.4 and 3.5).

Moreover, the images were often separated from the text they referred to by ten or more pages. Some of the specimens depicted had captions and were numbered but these numbers were self-referential to the plate rather than having any clear connection to the text. In many cases the numbers seem to have served more as a guide to the engraver working on the plates than to the reader. Furthermore, in some copies the same plate was used in different places. The clear dialogue between text and image that was such a vital feature of the Bolognese edition was here lost. This did not prevent images from being copied dutifully from the Bolognese edition. So faithful was the engraver of the Frankfurt volumes on birds that he tried to reproduce the cuts made by the knife in the wood and the shape of the blocks instead of adapting them to his own technique (figures 3.6 and 3.7). The reason for this may be that engraving had only recently been promoted in Frankfurt through the de Bry family and there was still a general preference for woodcuts in German books.⁵⁰ The presence of *cancellans* engraved leaves in these volumes also points to the difficulty that the printmaker may have had in making these plates.

The goal of the Bassée firm was clear: to reprint the Bolognese edition at reduced cost. The chosen layout allowed for the reduction of the size of the volumes by half and likewise the number of sheets of paper used. Nevertheless, the attention drawn in Johann's preface to his use of copper plates without mentioning the quality of the engravings indicates that although only a dozen or more large engraved plates had been used – as opposed to the hundreds of woodblocks in the Bolognese edition – they represented a substantial financial investment.⁵¹ This comment about the plates was repeated in the following Frankfurt volumes with engravings, which used on average twelve to eighteen

50 Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 175 and 316.

51 Johann Bassée, 'Illustrissimo ac potentissimo principi et domino. Domino Mauritio, Hessianae landgravi comiti in Catzenelndogen, Dietz, Ziegenhain et Nidda, etc.' in Ulysse Aldrovandi,

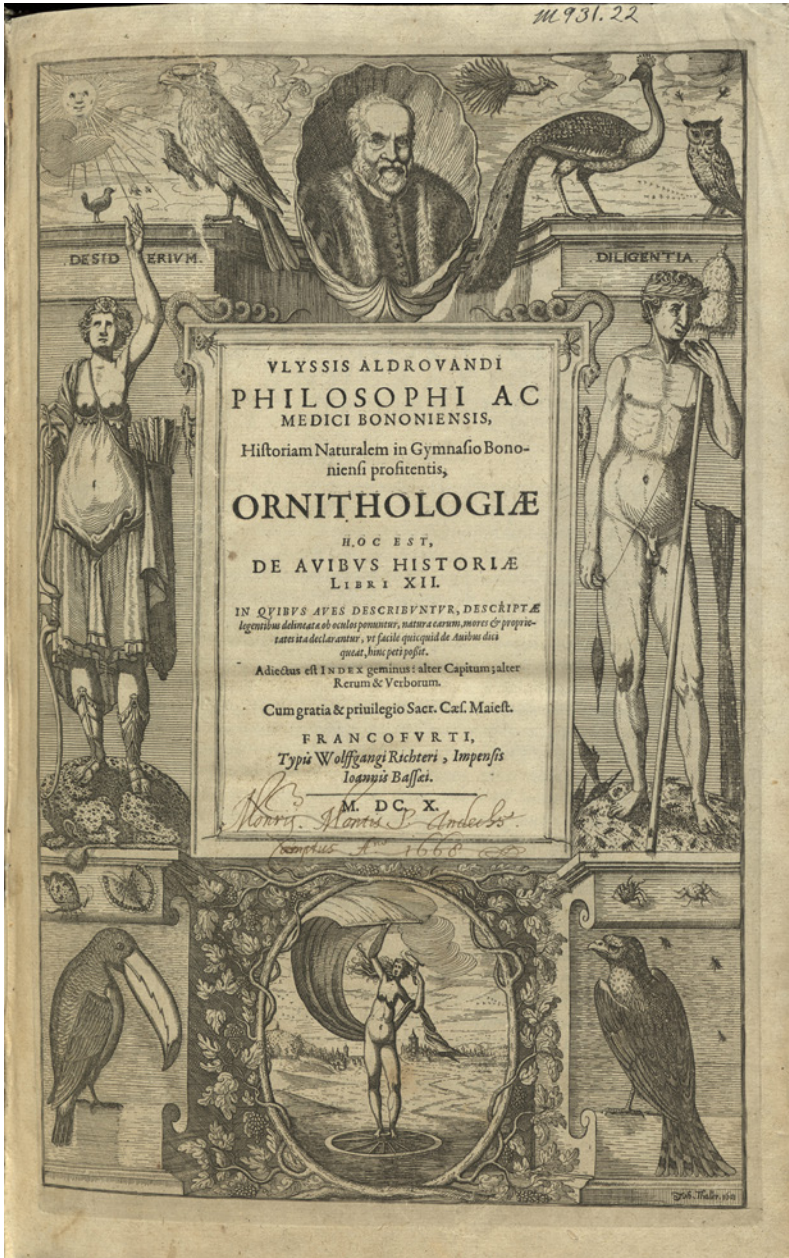


FIGURE 3.3 Engraved title page designed for the bird series also used for other volumes published in Frankfurt. Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, *Ornithologiae hoc est de auibus historiae libri XII...* (Frankfurt, Wolfgang Richter Printer, Johann Bassée Publisher, 1610). BOSTON MEDICAL LIBRARY IN THE FRANCIS A. COUNTWAY LIBRARY OF MEDICINE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.



FIGURE 3.4 Pages of illustration in volumes from the Frankfurt edition. Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, *Ornithologiae hoc est de auihus historiae libri XII : hoc est de auihus historiae libri XII in quibus aues describuntur...* (Frankfurt, Wolfgang Richter printer, Heirs of Nicolas Bassée publisher, 1611), table 14, volume 2. BOSTON MEDICAL LIBRARY IN THE FRANCIS A. COUNTWAY LIBRARY OF MEDICINE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

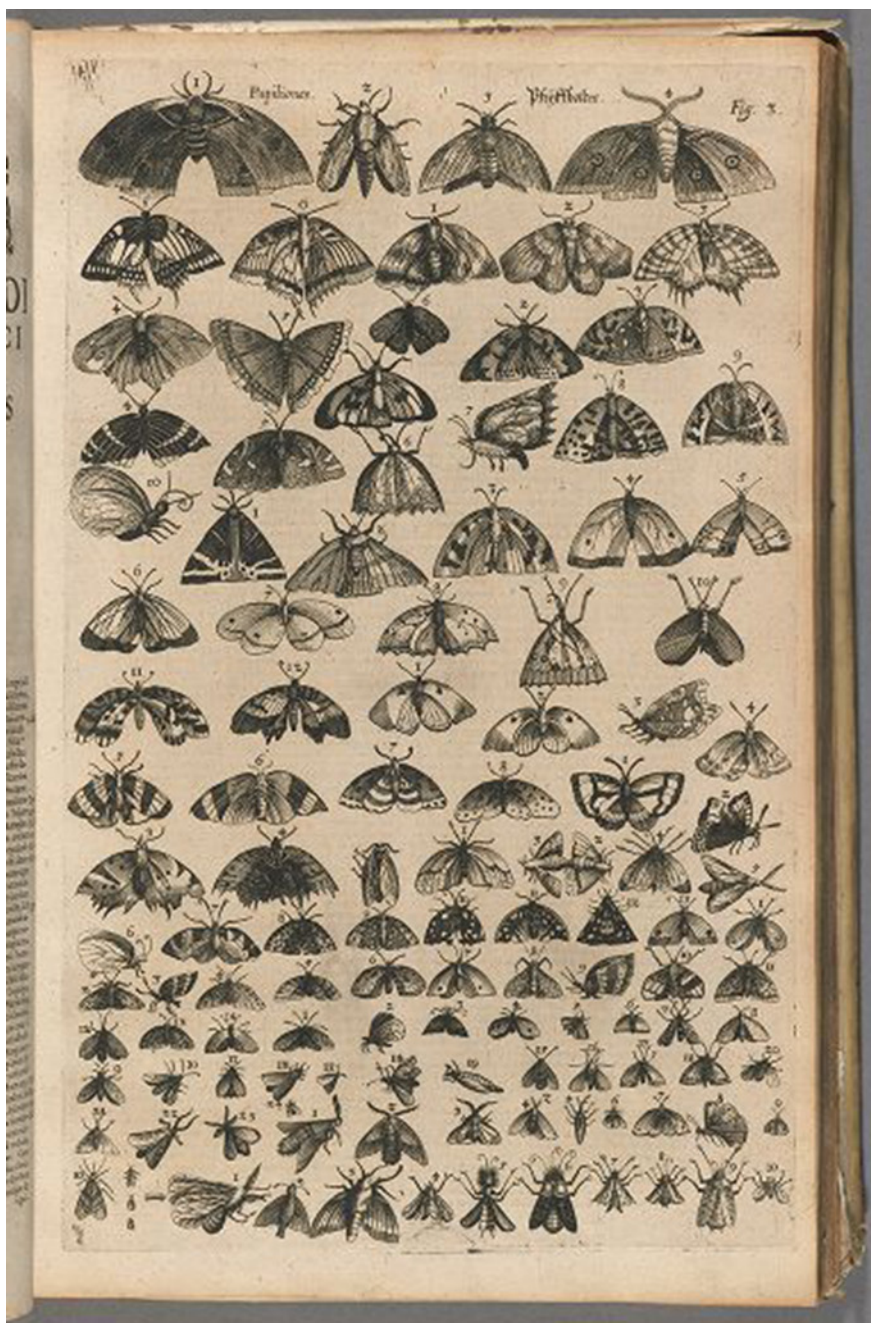


FIGURE 3.5 *Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, De Animalibus Insectis Libri Septem: In Quibus Omnia Illa Animalia accuratissime describuntur...*(Frankfurt, Johann Traudt publisher, Paul Jacobi printer, 1618), figure 3, p. [97].

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FIGURE 3.6 *Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, Ornithologiae hoc est de auibus historiae libri XI: hoc est de auibus historiae libri XII...* (Frankfurt: Caspar Röteler printer, Johann Traudt publisher, 1635), table 7, volume 3.

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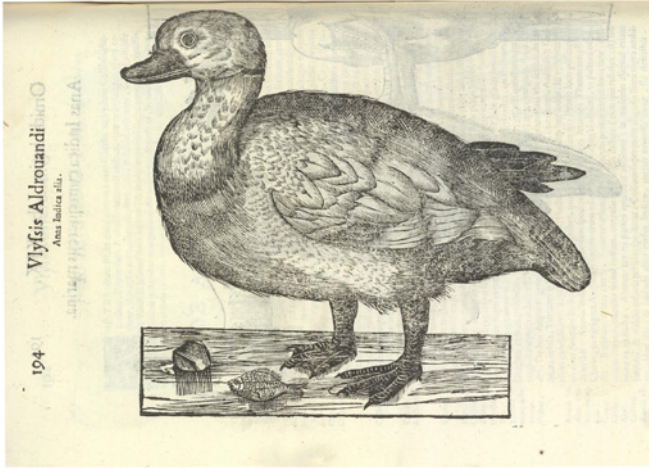


FIGURE 3.7 *Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, Ornithologiae tomus tertius, ac postremus... Cum indice copiosissimo variarum linguarum...* (Bologna: Giovanni Battista Bellagamba, 1603), volume 3, p. 194.
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copper plates per volume. The reduced size of the Frankfurt edition in comparison to the Bolognese one allowed for several titles to be bound together. As a result, customers could buy and arrange their volumes in any particular order.⁵² This may have been planned by the publishers following a concept introduced by the publisher André Wechel, who, earlier, had designed some of his books to be bought in parts.⁵³

In 1611 Johann Traudt, previously with the Bassée firm, started his own house and kept on publishing Aldrovandi's encyclopedia in collaboration with several printers.⁵⁴ He published a total of five additional volumes in ten years and several reprint editions of these various volumes over a period of twenty-two

...Ornithologiae hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII... (Frankfurt, Wolfgang Richter printer, Bassée publisher, 1610), fols.):(2 r.– v.

52 None of the volumes published in Frankfurt which I have been able to examine are bound in the same order.

53 Ian Maclean, "André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581", *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2009), pp. 181–182, 212 and 216.

54 See Claus Nissen, *Die zoologische Buchillustration*, pp. 17–18, and *Die illustrierten Vogelbücher*, pp. 82–83 and VD 17. Three volumes were never reprinted in Frankfurt: the volume on serpents and dragons, another on monsters, and the one on viviparous, footed animals.

years.⁵⁵ Some of the volumes included woodcut illustrations instead of engravings: multiple figures were then carved in the same block and printed on a single page. These images followed a layout similar to that of the engraved plates from the previous volumes thus maintaining the design of the Frankfurt edition and economizing on wood.⁵⁶

Distribution and Reception of Both Editions

In 1613 the last volume of the trilogy on birds was published in Frankfurt and the volume on fish was published in Bologna. Both titles are listed in the same volume of the Frankfurt fair catalogue.⁵⁷ Rather than competing with each other, they promoted the works of Aldrovandi by keeping him current: one edition or another of his encyclopedia was listed in the Frankfurt fair catalogues from 1599 to at least 1623.⁵⁸ Later, in 1625, Georg Draud did not hesitate to list Bolognese and Frankfurt volumes on the same subject side by side in his catalogue *Bibliotheca classica*, which superseded the official Frankfurt book fair catalogues.⁵⁹

Both editions were sold in Frankfurt in the early 1600s. No doubt it was at the Frankfurt book fair, which Balthasar Moretus attended regularly for the Plantin-Moretus firm, that Moretus acquired the volumes of the Bolognese edition he then sold to Peter Paul Rubens.⁶⁰ Other venues besides Frankfurt must also have been used by the Bolognese to sell their edition internationally. For example, the Bolognese publishers must have taken advantage of their connections with the French book trade. Gaspard Bindoni's itinerary serves as

55 Except in a couple of cases, Traudt's reprint editions were genuine and his printers had to reset the text for each of them. They were not reissues.

56 Likewise, the volumes with woodcut illustrations had a title page with a woodcut border specifically designed for them. Nonetheless these title page borders followed the same layout as those which were engraved.

57 'Ulyssis Aldrovandi Phil. Et Med. olim Bononiensis Ornithologia Tomus tertius et ultimus, qui est de avibus aquaticis. Francof. Apud Io, Dreutelium in fol.; fol. D2r and 'Ulyssis Aldrovandi Phil. et Med. Bononiensis de Piscibus lib. iv. Et de Cetis lib.I. Bonon.in fol...'; *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus, de anno M.DC.XIII...* (Frankfurt, Sigismundi Latomi, [1613]).

58 The Bolognese edition is listed in the 1599, 1603, 1604, 1613 Frankfurt book fair catalogues and the Frankfurt volumes in the 1610, 1613, 1621, 1622 and 1623 catalogues.

59 Draud, *Bibliotheca classica sive*, p. 926. On Draud's catalogue see Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 57.

60 M. Rooses 'P.P. Rubens en Balthasar Moretus (1), iv', *Ruben-Bulletijn*, 11 (1883), p. 191.

an indicator of these relations, for after having sold and published books in Frankfurt, he moved his business to Paris.⁶¹

The main locus of competition between the Bolognese and Frankfurt publishers, however, seems to have been Germany. The selection of the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Mark Sittich von Hohenems (1574–1619), as one of the patrons of the Bolognese volumes published under Tamburini indicates the Bolognese publisher's awareness of Northern European customers.⁶² In one of the dedicatory letters, Tamburini stressed the friendship and connections between the German and Italian lands.⁶³ On his side, Johann Bassée geared his Frankfurt edition toward a German audience. In the dedicatory letter to his patron, he claimed that no one had seen Aldrovandi's encyclopedia in Germany before the edition by his firm. He also tried to make it look more German by eliminating the view of Bologna present in some of the Bolognese volumes, by printing all the German words in the text with black letter, and by adding German-language captions to the plates (figure 3.8). In the second Frankfurt volume of the bird trilogy, printed in 1611, Johann Traudt remarked on his great service in "bringing to light" this volume, which until then was "retained by the natives".⁶⁴

Bassée's and Traudt's tackling of the German market was far from unique. Many Frankfurt printers, such as Wechel and de Bry, also joined the expanding German market in the early 1600s.⁶⁵ During the Thirty Years' War, the Frankfurt publishers of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia wrote prefaces with a distraught tone showing their concern about contemporary events and their loss of business which they had caused: they were doing a great service by bringing these

61 Duroselle-Melish, 'A Local-Transnational Business', p. 40. The Italian book trade also supplied agents working on behalf of customers living in other parts of Europe.

62 Girolamo Tamburini, "Amplissimo et Augustissimo Salisburgensis ecclesiae archiepiscopo et principi Marco Sittico ex comitibus in altaemps sedis apostolicae legato nato", in Ulisse Aldrovandi, *De Piscibus libri V...*, fols. [unsigned] 1–2 r.

63 Girolamo Tamburini, "Bononienses qui similem gemmam ex ditissimis Germaniae aerariis nunquam Italiae affulsisse et dicebant et praedicabant, patebant fores amicis, patebat animus ad official..." in Ulisse Aldrovandi, *De Piscibus libri V...*, fol. [unsigned] 1 v.

64 Johann Traudt, "Ad hunc celeberrimum morem me etiam conferens, cum haud ita pridem Ulyssis Aldrovandi, celeberrimi Bononiensis Philosophi et Medici, Avium historiam, Germanis hactenus non communicatam, sed natali in solo retentam..." Ulisse Aldrovandi, *...Ornithologiae tomus alter...* (Frankfurt, Wolfgang Richter printer, Nicolas Bassée's heirs publishers, 1611), fol. [unsigned] 1 r.

65 Maclean, 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581', pp. 180–181 and Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 195.



FIGURE 3.8 Detail showing captions in Latin (like in the Bolognese edition) and the additional text in German. Ulisse Aldrovandi, 1522–1605, *Ornithologiae hoc est de auibus historiae libri XII...* (Frankfurt: Caspar Rötzel Printer, Johann Traudt Publisher, 1635), table 7, volume 3.

BOSTON MEDICAL LIBRARY IN THE FRANCIS A. COUNTWAY LIBRARY OF MEDICINE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

volumes to their “dearest nation of Germania” when it was sacked by war. They praised their patrons for their love of books, their interest in history, and their general intellectual curiosity: one preface claimed that Aldrovandi was of greater value than gold and silver. Frankfurt publishers of the later editions increasingly aimed at a market on the northern periphery of Germanic land. The 1647 Frankfurt edition of Aldrovandi’s volume on animals with cloven feet,

for example, was dedicated to Georg Seefeld a Danish patrician and book collector.⁶⁶

Although they worked at the centre of the book trade, Frankfurt publishers seem not to have been greatly concerned with the international market.⁶⁷ This is indicated by the limited presence of their edition in current European libraries.⁶⁸ By contrast, the Bolognese edition fared better, and was successfully distributed throughout both the Catholic and Protestant German territories. They could not, however, flood the market and eliminate the Frankfurt edition, which continued to be printed throughout the seventeenth century: the demand was high enough for the two editions to be sold in parallel.⁶⁹

In addition to the Bolognese and Frankfurt editions, the Frankfurt fair catalogues included an edition of the volume on fish published in Cologne and an edition of the volume on quadrupeds published in Lyon, illustrating the widespread interest in Aldrovandi's work.⁷⁰ As Ian Maclean has remarked, reprint

66 David Johann Zunner and Peter Haubold "*Viro illustri ac generoso domino Georgio Seefeld, haereditario in reefis, regni Daniae senatori prudentissimo...*" in *Ulisae Aldrovandi, ...Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia...* (Frankfurt, David Johann Zunner and Peter Haubold publishers, Kaspar Rötel printer, 1647), fol. [unsigned] 2r.

67 The Frankfurt volumes I have been able to consult all have a German provenance.

68 A preliminary search of the numbers of extant copies of each edition in current European libraries seems to support this argument. A search in OPAC SBN shows that volumes of the Frankfurt edition are recorded only in seven Italian libraries as opposed to volumes of the Bolognese edition in over fifty Italian libraries. The Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog (www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de) records over one hundred volumes of the Bolognese edition versus seventy-three of the Frankfurt edition in German and Austrian libraries. There are also over fifty volumes of the Bolognese edition versus five of the Frankfurt edition in French libraries, and over two hundred and fifty volumes of the Bolognese edition and fifty-eight of the Frankfurt edition in British libraries. These searches would need, however, to be refined and individual copies would need to be examined to provide a complete census of this encyclopedia. One of the reasons why volumes of the Frankfurt edition do not appear as prominently in current libraries may be because they were originally purchased by individuals rather than institutions and, therefore, were less likely to be preserved. See also Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 2010), p. 231.

69 Although the international market was an important outlet for the Bolognese edition, the market on the Peninsula was also vital for its sales, as reflected by the over six-hundred extant volumes currently in Italian libraries.

70 "Ulyssis Aldrovandi Phil. et Med. Bononiensis de Piscibus lib. iv. Et de Cetis lib.I. ...Colon. apud Bernard. Gualter", *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus, de anno M.DC.XIII...*, fol. D3r and "Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia. Lugdun. In 18. 1621", Draud, *Biblioteca classica...*, p. 1242.

editions “had a positive effect on the republic of letters” by spreading books to a wide geographical area.⁷¹

As previously mentioned, the original print run planned by Aldrovandi for his volumes was 1,100. This was a typical print run for a scholarly publication.⁷² In 1610, 2,046 copies of the first five titles were handed to Tamburini on consignment.⁷³ Over 50% of the print run had been sold and distributed within ten years of publication, with several best-selling titles sold at over 70%.⁷⁴ The success of Aldrovandi’s books explains the multiple editions produced in Bologna – the majority of them being genuine reprints, that is new settings of type, not reissues of the unsold sheets of an earlier edition: each volume was reprinted three to four times over a period of thirty years.⁷⁵ Clearly this was a profitable project despite the initial large investments of money and effort it required. Frankfurt publishers also reprinted their edition, although less frequently than the Bolognese.⁷⁶

Nevertheless volumes of the encyclopedia were not cheap and this remained true throughout the century. The founders of the Advocates’ Library in Edinburgh – later to become the National Library of Scotland – paid the lump sum of 240 pounds for nine volumes of Aldrovandi’s work in 1686.⁷⁷ The case of Rubens is helpful in understanding the purchasing technique of individual customers; Rubens spread his purchase of four volumes over four years surely

71 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 117.

72 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 123.

73 “1610 Studio del Molto illtre et eccme Sre Dottre Ulisse Aldrovandi...Adi 19 Aprile...opera che sono state consegnate al Mr. Gironimo Tamburini librario et a questo di si e fatto instromento rogato ? ...: Parte prima d’Avibus = no. 566/2a de Avibus = no. 262/3a d’Avibus = no. 443/De Insectis opera no. 299/De Crustaceis opera no. 476 = no. 2046 [sic 2066]...”, ASB, Assunteria di Studio, 100, fasc.6, “Carte relative allo Studio Aldrovandi”.

74 If one assumes that the print run for each title was 1,100 following Aldrovandi’s instructions, then, we come to the following results: 43.4% of the first volume of the bird series was sold in eleven years, 73.8% of the second volume in ten years, 55.7% of the third volume in seven years, 70.1% of the volume on insects in eight years, and 52.4% of the volume on shellfish and sea life in four years. In 1642, 930 volumes of the same titles were sold to Marco Antonio Bernia and his son; by then, some of these titles had already been reprinted several times. ASB, Assunteria di Studio, 100, fasc. 6, “Carte relative allo Studio Aldrovandi”.

75 Aldrovandi’s volumes were steady sellers but they were not bestsellers as defined by Ann Blair, that is, titles with five editions published over a period of thirty years, Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 116.

76 Most titles were reprinted once. The volume of fish was reprinted four times. See VD 17.

77 Patrick Cadell and Ann Matheson (eds.), *For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland’s National Library, 1689–1989* (Edinburgh, Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1989), p. 26. My thanks to John Sibbald for this information.

because they were too expensive to buy at one time.⁷⁸ Likewise owners of the Frankfurt edition bound different editions of various titles together, indicating the spread of their acquisitions over time in addition to their varied access to the volumes that they wished to purchase.

One suspects that the Frankfurt edition was cheaper than the Bolognese one, as reprints usually were, but the reason for a collector to acquire it was not necessarily financial. Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), for example, owned volumes from both the Frankfurt and the later Bolognese editions, but none of the first Bolognese edition. In this case, money was not the concern but rather it was a question of access to one edition or another as well as the importance of owning the complete works of Aldrovandi.⁷⁹

Aldrovandi remained a successful author and his books found customers throughout the seventeenth century. With time though, his readers shifted from members of scientific circles, who were increasingly critical of his method of classification, to book collectors with a broad interest in history.⁸⁰ Aldrovandi's encyclopedia was also promoted through works such as Gabriel Naudé's treatise on building a library, first published in 1627.⁸¹ Naudé thought that it was necessary to have Aldrovandi's volumes on the animal world in one's library. Likewise the founders of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh deemed it as essential to have Aldrovandi's encyclopedia in their collection as to have the Polyglot Bible.⁸²

The impact of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia was evident in more ways than references made to it in treatises. In 1650, the successful and very active Frankfurt publisher and engraver Matthias Merian (1593–1650) started publishing the natural history encyclopedia of the Polish physician Jan Jonston (1603–1675).⁸³ Jonston was highly influenced by Konrad Gesner's and Aldrovandi's encyclopedias, which were mentioned on almost every page of his work. It is

78 Elizabeth McGrath, 'Rubens and his books', *Rubens Subjects from History* (London, Harvey Miller, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 55–67. My thanks to Anna Knapp for this reference.

79 Search in the Sloane catalogue (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/sloane/>). My thanks to Stephen Parkin for pointing me towards Sloane's collection.

80 David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, his Friends, and the beginnings of modern natural history* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 370 and Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 230.

81 Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque. Présenté à Monseigneur le président de Mesme* (Paris, F. Targa, 1627), p. 47.

82 Cadell and Matheson, *For the Encouragement of Learning*, p. 26.

83 Daniel Margocsy, 'Certain Fakes and Uncertain Facts: Jan Jonston and the Question of Truth in Religion and Natural History' in Marco Berretta and Maria Conforti (eds.), *Fakes!? Hoaxes, Counterfeits and Deception in Early Modern Science* (Sagamore Beach, Science History Publications, 2014), pp. 190–225 and Wüthrich, *Matthäus Merian*, pp. 191 and 209.

probably under the influence of Merian, who was then living in Frankfurt, that Jonston's publication closely reproduced the layout of Aldrovandi's Frankfurt edition. The volumes were thin, with text set in two columns per page and the engravings were on separate sheets of paper (figure 3.9). This layout would later be imitated in a number of encyclopedic works.⁸⁴

Conclusion

The final posthumous volume of the encyclopedia was published in 1668 by Bernia's son, Girolamo, under the editorial direction of Ovidio Montalbani. Entitled *Dendrologia*, it concerned the subject of plants and was reprinted in 1671, the same year as the first reprint edition of this volume was published in Frankfurt.⁸⁵ *Dendrologia* was the volume the most distant in time and mindset



FIGURE 3.9 Jan Jonston, *Historiae naturalis de insectis. Libri III. de serpentibus et draconibus, libri II cum aeneis figuris...* (Frankfurt: Heirs of Mattheus Merian, 1658), opening p. 46 and table v. EC65. J7396. B653h.

HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

⁸⁴ See Pinon, *Livres de zoologie de la Renaissance*, pp. 18–35.

⁸⁵ ...*Dendrologiae naturalis scilicet arborum historiae libri...* (Bologna, Giovanni Battista Ferroni printer, Girolamo Bernia publisher, 1668) and *Dendrologiae Naturalis scilicet*

from Aldrovandi's work but it was the book in which the Frankfurt publisher most closely followed its Bolognese model, using large woodcuts printed with the text. After having developed a new layout for natural history encyclopaediae, which was increasingly adopted for other publications, the Frankfurt publishers in charge of the *Dendrologia* volume chose to return to a more traditional design.

Two more volumes of the encyclopedia were later reprinted in Bologna in 1681 and in Frankfurt in 1692.⁸⁶ Hence to the very end of the seventeenth century, both cities produced parallel editions of Aldrovandi's encyclopedic volumes. The publishing life of the naturalist's encyclopedia then came to an end, as did that of other Renaissance works: by the early 1700s a shift in cultural expectations was occurring, leading to works less focused on commentaries and with images less central to the text.⁸⁷

Aldrovandi's encyclopedic volumes had brought financial rewards over a period of a hundred years to publishers in two cities and two different geographic areas. This shows the international nature of scholarly reputations and of the book business. On an economic level it also indicates that profits could be made from the production and sale of a large reference book despite the need to invest large sums of money at the onset of the project and the potential difficulties faced throughout its manufacture: in Bologna, the Senate had run out of money; in Frankfurt, the Thirty Years' War made business more difficult. While one edition was printed at the 'periphery' in Bologna, it aimed at an international readership and, early on, counted on Frankfurt for distribution. Frankfurt, on the other hand, although at the 'centre' of the book trade, relied on Bologna for the production of more volumes that it could copy for a more provincial distribution. Each took on roles associated with the other, to the point where the Frankfurt publishers were more dependent on Bologna than the reverse. In the case of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia, the boundaries between centre and periphery were indeed blurred.

arborum Historiae libri duo... (Frankfurt, Blasius Ilßner printer, Wilhem Serlin publisher, [1671]).

86 *Ornithologiae hoc est De auibus historiae libri XII...* (Bologna, Manolessi Camerale printer, 1681) and *Dendrologiae naturalis scilicet arborum historiae libro duo...* (Frankfurt, Albert Otto Faber, 1692).

87 Pinon, *Livres de zoologie*, p. 35 and Blair, *Too much to Know*, p. 257.

Selling Books in the Italian Renaissance: The Correspondence of Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano (1522)*

Angela Nuovo

The main surviving sources for reconstructing the history of the book trade in Italy are documents with a highly standardized content, such as contracts, commercial agreements and bookshop inventories. Commercial letters where bookmen express themselves directly are, in fact, extremely rare in this period. However, they were the essential means of keeping business alive in distant cities, of keeping control of their affairs and of obtaining sufficient information about the kind of merchandise which was needed, and where. Of course, Italian merchants had developed their use of correspondence to a massive extent during the Middle Ages. The example of the Prato merchant Francesco Datini and his 150,000 letters written in the second half of the fourteenth century comes immediately to mind.¹

Through correspondence, the most skilled booksellers were able to build and maintain networks that could reach even distant markets, not only at a national level but at a transnational one as well: that is, contrary to the situation today when the book market in Italy is nationally and linguistically based, Renaissance Italy was not yet a state, and hence the market in the peninsula was by definition transnational.² Different states coexisted on the Italian Peninsula, and vast territories were not independent but rather under foreign administration – more than half of the peninsula was in the possession of

* I wish to thank Stephen Parkin for revising my text.

1 “La richesse des archives italiennes est sans égale: les historiens de l’Italie et de sa civilisation le savent par expérience; ceux qui étudient les pays voisins le savent par ouï dire [...] La multiplicité des États et l’intensité des relations politiques et économiques entre la péninsule et le reste de l’Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge et au début de l’époque moderne ont démultiplié la production documentaire [...] au premier chef les correspondances, particulièrement celles des marchands et, mieux conservées, celles des diplomates”. Mark H. Smith, ‘Conseils pour l’édition des documents en langue italienne (XIVe–XVIIe siècle)’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*, 159 (2001), pp. 541–578 : 541. The literature on Francesco Datini is vast. See, in English, Giampiero Nigro (ed.) *Francesco di Marco Datini: the man, the merchant* (Florence, Firenze University Press, 2010).

2 The unification of Italy was achieved in 1860.

Spain – and these areas tended to be culturally advanced, particularly in terms of consuming books. From the linguistic viewpoint, the market for Latin works was global, and Italian publishers always remained active in this sector. Moreover, literature published in Italian also found a market throughout Europe.

The Gabiano family is surprisingly little-known today, although their status as leading merchants in the book trade is indubitable. The family, whose original family name was Lanza, took its name from the village of Gabiano, in Piedmont, half way between Lyon and Venice.³ Established for several generations in Asti, Lyon, and Venice, the Gabiano were dealing not only with books but with several kinds of merchandise, in a similar way to the powerful family of the Florentine Giunti.⁴ The Gabiano first made an appearance in the book world in Lyon around 1501–1502, but their activities had no relation to cultural circles in Lyon and were clearly directed from Venice. In fact, they printed in octavo editions that resembled those of Aldo Manuzio as much as possible, using italic types very much like his.⁵

For the Gabiano, Venice always remained the centre of the family business and of the partnerships they founded. It was to the bookshop at the sign of the Fountain near the Rialto Bridge in the parish of San Bartolomeo that letters were sent for Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano. About 110 letters survive for a single year only, 1522, sent by 42 different correspondents.⁶ The majority of

3 The village of Gabiano is only 15 km away from Trino, which is the native village of a remarkable series of Italian printers and publishers, such as Giolito, Stagnino, Portonari, Comin da Trino, and others.

4 Information about the Gabiano family can be found in Corrado Marciani, "I Gabiano, librai italo-francesi del XVI secolo", *La Bibliofilia*, 74 (1972), pp. 191–213; Paolo Veneziani, "Il libraio al segno della fontana", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, (1999), pp. 242–266 and in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, entry *Gabiano, Baldassarre da* (by Mario Infelise), vol. 58 (1998), online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/baldassarre-da-gabiano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/baldassarre-da-gabiano_(Dizionario-Biografico)/). More recently: Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Boston-Leiden, Brill, 2013), pp. 71–80, 165–170, 313–314.

5 For the Gabiano in Lyon see Henri Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle*, 12 vols. (Lyon, Brun, 1895–1921), vol. 7, pp. 1–245, 449–450. For the replicas of the Aldines: David J. Shaw, 'The Lyons Counterfeit of Aldus's Italic Type: A new chronology', in Denis V. Reidy (ed.), *The Italian Book 1465–1800: Studies presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday* (London, The British Library, 1993), pp. 117–133.

6 Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Miscellanea atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 91- letter p: *Lettere di vari scritte a Gio. Bartolomeo da Gabiano*. This group of letters was completely separated from its original context, probably many years ago. As a consequence, its original placement in the Archive cannot be traced.

them are from booksellers, retailers, who normally wrote several times in the course of a year, but there are also some letters written by colleagues, such as Amadio Scotto and Michele Tramezino.⁷ Some letters were written by customers, normally in order to complain about some unsatisfactory aspect of the purchased book(s). One was written by Lorenzo Aliprandi, the main partner of the Gabiano family, who stayed as a member of the partnership until the death of Giovanni Bartolomeo in 1543 and married his daughter, Corona Gabiano. Some other letters were written by Gabiano's factors, reporting on his commercial business or the produce from the estates he owned. A substantial group of letters were written by other members of the family, from different Italian cities, mixing family and business matters. In this group are included the only two letters written by a woman, Giovannina (Ioanina) Gabiano, the sister-in-law of Giovanni Bartolomeo. These letters were actually only dictated by her as they are written by a copyist, whose signature is included.

The letters allow us to ascertain that the company carried on its business and financial transactions in three principal locations: Venice, Lyon, and Florence. The head of the firm conducted his activities from Venice, furnishing Italian booksellers in various Italian cities. In Lyon, business was based on both participation in the fairs and in publishing. For the cities of Northern Italy, all business was in the hands of Giovanni Bartolomeo. Often he supplied more than one bookseller in a given city: four booksellers in Padua (Alessandro da Pavia, Filippo da Como, Gaspare Trivello, and Santo Corbella); two in Ferrara (Paride della Mella and Giovanni Andrea del Negro); one in Florence (the *cartolaio* Bartolo di Domenico and, after his death, his sons Domenico and Marc'Antonio); two in Bologna (Giustiniano da Rubiera and Giovan Battista Lapi);⁸ one in Mantua (Benedetto Latioso, canon of the Duomo); and one in

7 Angela Nuovo, 'Una lettera di Michele Tramezino a Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano (1522)', *La Bibliofilia*, 105 (2013), pp. 147–156. Amadio Scotto was a member of the powerful Scotto family, native of Monza (close to Milan) and active in the Venetian book trade since the incunabula period. See: Carlo Volpati, 'Gli Scotti di Monza tipografi-editori in Venezia', *Archivio storico lombardo* 59 (1932), pp. 365–382; Claudio Sartori, 'La famiglia degli editori Scotto', *Acta Musicologica*, 36 (1964), pp. 19–30; Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)* (New York, Oxford University Press; Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998).

8 Mentions of these Ferrarese booksellers in Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara tra xve e xvi secolo: la bottega di Domenico Sivieri* (Florence, Olschki, 1998), pp. 133–134. Giustiniano da Rubiera was also active as a printer in Bologna from 1495 to 1534. Information about Giovan Battista Lapi in Albano Sorbelli, *Bologna*, Maria Gioia Tavoni (ed.), (Rome, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato – Libreria dello Stato, 2004), pp. 390–391.

Milan (the well-known bookseller and publisher Andrea Calvo).⁹ Gabiano supplied all of these booksellers with books, either proposed by him or ordered by them, and negotiated payment schedules with them. On rare occasions, he accepted other sorts of merchandise in lieu of cash payment, such as salami, shirts or napkins, but payments were almost always received in cash.

It is possible to measure the trade balance of Venetian publishing, at least for the year of 1522. The dominance of Venetian printing over that in all the other Italian cities during this period is clear. Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano shipped some 1,800 books from Venice to his retail booksellers in one year; in return, 967 books reached Venice, almost all of them from Milan and shipped by Andrea Calvo, the only one of Gabiano's correspondents who also acted as an entrepreneur in his own right. The 1,800 books distributed by Gabiano do not include, of course, the books actually sold in his shop, which was one of the largest in Venice. The books he distributed were mainly humanistic books, composed in Latin and Greek, or university textbooks, especially law. Only very rarely did he trade in vernacular books, and the few he did handle were imported, such as the latest edition of *Orlando Furioso* by Lodovico Ariosto, which had been offered to him by his correspondent in Ferrara, and the edition with a new commentary of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Ameto* which had been sent from Milan by Andrea Calvo, who had just published it.¹⁰

In order to consider these letters, which are not only full of new information, but are often written in a very lively style, I will look in detail at two groups of letters from two of Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano's correspondents: his fellow-townsmen, client, and a student in Padua, Cristoforo Parona; and his nephew Lucimborgo da Gabiano, who was a partner in the family company and manager of the branch in Lyon.

9 About Andrea Calvo, see Francesco Barberi. *Calvo, Andrea (Minatianus)*, in DBI, vol. 17 (1974), online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-calvo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-calvo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/). See also Kevin Stevens, 'New Light on Andrea Calvo and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century Milan', *La Bibliofilia*, 103 (2001), pp. 25–54.

10 The edition coming from Ferrara is Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso di Ludovico Ariosto ristampato et con molta diligentia da lui corretto* (In Ferrara, per Giovanni Battista da la Pigna, 1521), 4° (Edit 16, CNCE 2542). The edition coming from Milan is Giovanni Boccaccio, *Ameto di messere Giovanni Boccaccio. Con le osservazioni in volgare grammatica sopra esso di Hieronimo Claricio* (Impresso in Milano, nella officina Minutiana a ispesa di Andrea Caluo, a di X de giugno 1520), 4° (Edit 16, CNCE 6253). This Boccaccio edition is a crucial text in the development of the vernacular philology in Cinquecento Italy. See Carlo Dionisotti, 'Girolamo Claricio', *Studi sul Boccaccio*, 2 (1964) pp. 291–341 and Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy. The editor and the vernacular text, 1470–1600* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 67–69.

An Unprofitable Customer: Cristoforo Parona

Eight letters written by Cristoforo Parona, a student of law at Padua, allow us to trace the relationship – not a particularly profitable one – between Gabiano and one of his clients.¹¹ If all his customers had acted in the same way as Parona, Gabiano's business would very soon have failed. On the other hand, Parona's inability to repay Gabiano is the very reason so many letters were written between the two men, and survive today. Therefore, the interest of these letters lies more in the personality of the would-be customer and in the circumstances of his life than in the commercial aspects of the exchange.

The first letter was written on 10 February 1522 (Letter 1). Parona had been advised by Gabiano's brother to ask him for assistance. The link between the two was that both were natives of Asti, in Piedmont, the region of Gabiano's village. "Wherefore, if you want to provide me with books", Parona wrote confidently, "send me the *Corpus* of canon law bound in wooden boards and the *Abbati* and *Jasoni* bound in pasteboard and I'll go to your place and make a solemn pledge as your brother proposed...". The *Abbati* were the commentaries on the decretals of Nicolaus de Tudeschis, Abbot of Palermo. The *Jasoni* were Jason de Mayno's commentaries on the *Codex* and the *Digest*. All of them were the basic university texts required to study canon law in Padua.

It seems Gabiano was unimpressed with Parona's promise of a pledge since it is clear that he did not send any books. More letters followed, increasingly desperate in tone. Parona wrote again five days later, but with no result (Letter 2). In the meantime he had obviously ordered some more books, as on 3 April he stated that he has received the volumes of Baldus, but not yet the *Corpus iuris civile*, published by Torti, as well as the *Repetitiones* and the *Abbati*. He tried to persuade the reluctant bookseller with some wit, by using a Latin motto.¹² All the books he asked for were very expensive multi-volume folio editions, at the top end of the publishing market. It is not surprising, therefore, that he does not appear to have got what he wanted, since one week later he wrote again, asking for exactly the same books, and stating that without books he might as well be wasting his time drinking in taverns. Five days later he again wrote to request books, but this time, in addition to law texts, he wanted Pietro Bembo, *Gli Asolani*, and Petrarch in *stampa d'Aldo* – that is, published by Aldo Manuzio (Letter 4). Obviously, students in Padua were also liable to fall under the spell of Bembo and the new Italian literature – provided these texts

11 All the letters written by Parona in his beautiful humanistic hand are published here in an appendix.

12 See Letter 3.

were printed by a publisher of leading repute such as Aldo. In that same year 1522, Bembo was living in Padua, although it is not likely that the young Cristoforo would have had the opportunity to meet such an illustrious man of letters. At the same time, Parona began to voice his concerns over the state of his native city, Asti, which was a theatre of war at the time and from which he was unable to get any news.

A couple of months later, he wrote a short message to Gabiano, urging him to provide his only friend (indeed, more than a friend, *compagno*, which has a sense closer to 'partner', and implies a real sharing of life and ideas) with some books. This man was Pier Paolo Vergerio jr., a remarkable man who was destined to become one of the leading figures of the Italian Reform movement.¹³ Vergerio was studying in Padua in 1522, then aged 24. But it seems that the days of his religious commitment were still far off in the future, as the books he was looking for in 1522 were *Cento Novelle*, namely Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and Petrarch, again printed by Aldo. All this reminds us that then as now, university students were enthusiastic readers, especially of Italian literature.

At the end of August, Cristoforo Parona wrote his last two, quite dramatic, letters. In the first one, he told of having finally received news from Asti. His father and his uncle had been killed, and the city of Asti had been sacked by the imperial troops. Cristoforo Parona found himself once again in great need. He begged to be allowed to keep Gabiano's cloak, which he had borrowed from the bookseller, because he had pawned all his own clothes to a Jew: "tutte le mie veste sono in pegno allo hebreo". Not only was he unable to pay back his debts, he asked to borrow two ducats more in order to go back to Asti, remarking that "friends in need are friends indeed". Ten days later, Parona confirmed that he would sign another pledge for his total debt, which now amounted to the considerable sum of 37 ducats. He confessed that he could not give the cloak back to Gabiano because he had in fact converted it into a gown. He added that he had felt free to use Gabiano's things as if they were his own, although, without Gabiano's side of the story, we cannot be sure of how he reacted to Parona's attitude. It seems that Parona was obliged to do this. In Italian universities of the period, professors and sometimes students were expected to wear a long academic gown, which had the function of distinguishing them from the rest of society. Civic authorities were displeased

13 On Pier Paolo Vergerio, see Robert A. Pierce, *Pier Paolo Vergerio the propagandist* (Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003); Ugo Rozzo (ed.), *Pier Paolo Vergerio il Giovane, un polemista attraverso l'Europa del Cinquecento: Convegno internazionale di studi, Cividale del Friuli, 15-16 ottobre 1998* (Udine, Forum, 2000); Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Pier Paolo Vergerio: The making of an Italian reformer* (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1977).

especially when professors, who were expected to wear long gowns as they were *in loco parentis* to the students, failed to wear them. The number of recurring complaints on the part of the authorities show that individuals failing to wear their gowns was a far from exceptional occurrence.¹⁴

Parona declared that he was ready to repay Gabiano what his cloak was worth. To this end, he had visited several tailors in order to have it priced, which was no easy task. He had finally been given a value of 20 lire, obviously much less than the figure Gabiano was asking for, but, Parona added, “as I don’t like to discuss [this], I will give you five ducats for it”. As one ducat was worth six lire, Parona was stating that he would meet Gabiano’s request of 30 lire for the cloak, but all this was only in theory because, as we have seen, Parona was only able to give Gabiano a promise of eventual repayment. As for the two ducats he had requested in the preceding letter in order to pay for his travel back home, he wrote that this was not now enough; he needed three ducats to go back to Asti, because he had missed an opportunity to travel as far as Pavia by horse for free. Consequently, he had to join another convoy of travellers and needed more money. However, in any case, he concluded by saying that [he] “will leave in four days with or without money”. This is the last letter we have from Parona and it surely indicates the end of his time as a student in the University of Padua.

Lucimborgo da Gabiano, Manager of the Lyon Branch

Lucimborgo da Gabiano, also known as Luxembourg de Gabiano, wrote seven missives from Lyon, which represent an exceptional (if not unique) illustration of the type of relations that existed between the headquarters (in Venice) and the branch office (in Lyon) of a publishing firm. The branch office was clearly subject to the decisions of the Venetian headquarters, and Lucimborgo had to travel to Venice at least once a year to report on his management of the firm’s affairs in Lyon.

In his letters to his uncle, written in typical mercantile hand, Lucimborgo touched on three main commercial topics: the production of books, the personnel of the branch office and commercial relations between the headquarters and the Lyon branch. As far as printing production was concerned, Lucimborgo’s letters provide incontestable evidence of a high degree of market integration between Venice and Lyon. Throughout 1522, Lucimborgo

14 Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 162–163.

announced the various editions he was producing, mainly medical and legal texts to be sold at the local fairs. Sometimes he sent to Venice batches of a few hundred copies of his editions but it seems that his initiatives were not always welcome. An examination of the books produced by Lucimborgo, in fact, their graphic design, the typefaces used, and the illustrations, reveals differing tastes to those which were fashionable at that time in Venice. Nevertheless, no Lyonese edition published by Lucimborgo seems to have been planned in direct collaboration with intellectuals who were based in the French city. Each of them followed a previous Italian edition, often combining elements from different editions, as was the case with the Vitruvius edition of 1523, the first edition of this crucial text to appear outside Italy (see Figure 4.1).¹⁵

Lucimborgo's abilities seem really to have been those of an entrepreneur, able to put together materials and suggestions from different sources, planning editions solely with the market in mind, especially the demand which was expressed during the Fairs. Moreover, these letters reveal that Lucimborgo financed a considerable number of editions which were published only under the name of some French printers. Anonymity was a necessity for the Italian merchants in Lyon. The merchants of Lyon in fact accused the Italians of profiting from the privileges granted to the fairs in order to compete on unequal terms with resident merchants, who were subject to much higher taxes. Despite this, Giunta and Gabiano were the highest taxpayers among the booksellers who were based in the city.¹⁶ The degree of market integration between Venice and Lyon was incontestably high. It is precisely through these letters of 1522 that we can see how Venetian publishing houses used their branches in Lyon to find more efficient routes into northern markets, with products that were, as far as possible, replicas of Venetian or Italian books. Vitruvius was only one of the Latin classics which were published, always anonymously, by Lucimborgo in the Aldine format, the octavo.

15 Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *De architectura libri decem* (Lyons, Guillaume Hyon for Lucimborgo da Gabiano, 1523), 8° (Baudrier VII, 167; SBN-Antico IT\ICCU\BVEE\061663; USTC 145582). The woodcuts are copied from the Giovanni Tacuino 1511 folio edition (edited by Fra Giocondo), which was reprinted in 8° by the Giunti in Florence in 1513 and 1522. The Giunti had already simplified and reduced the size of the original edition, but Lucimborgo preferred to have new drawings and cuts made from the Tacuino-Fra Giocondo 1511 edition, as they were much more accurate than the Giunti's. Other cuts, reduced in format, are copied from the Como edition in the vernacular of 1521 (Cesare Cesariano, trans., Edit 16, CNCE 49742).

16 Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI^e siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580)*, 2 vols., (Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971), p. 395.

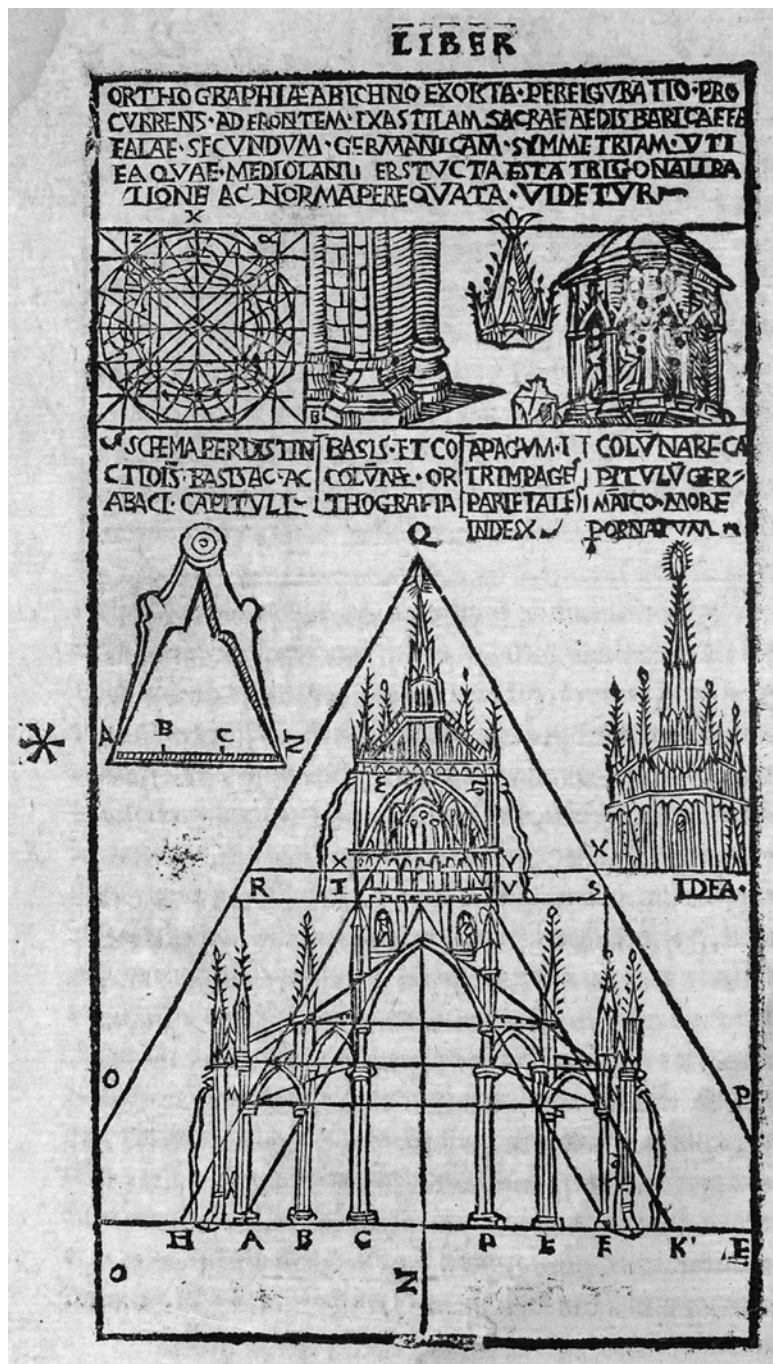


FIGURE 4.1 Vitruvius. *De architectura*. [Lyon]: [Guillaume Hyon for Lucimborgo da Gabiano], 1523, 8°, p. 13 v. (e-rara.ch, Bibliothek Werner Oechslin).

The Gabiano letters help us to reassess the role of Italian publishers in building the book market in Lyon, working both as individual entrepreneurs or in partnerships. It would not be misleading to define this phenomenon as, to a certain extent, a displaced production of Venetian and Italian books, with no particular connection to the local cultural context. On the one hand, the notion of the spread of humanism in Lyon, which is almost a commonplace in book history, seems to be challenged by the picture provided by these letters. On the other hand, the efficiency of the Venetian commercial network has perhaps been overrated as it appears to have worked too slowly in reaching the reading clientele beyond the Alps.

Letters of Cristoforo Parona to Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano

The edition of Gabiano's correspondence, with commentary, of which the present publication of Cristoforo Parona's letters is an anticipation, is still work in progress. Parona's letters represent the most numerous group of letters from a single correspondent and are a unique example, both in terms of their consistency and the detail they contain, of an epistolary exchange between a bookseller and one of his clients. As could be foreseen, the letters demonstrate how close the relations were between Venice, as the place where books were produced, and the University of Padua, as the place where books were used. The range of editions requested by Parona was fairly limited (in line with his limited means) and focuses on the legal texts which were essential for his studies at Padua, together with a very occasional literary purchase. Parona frequently asks for the law books he purchased to be given a specific type of binding, solid and robust, appropriate for books which would accompany him throughout his professional career. But the epistolary exchange between Parona and Gabiano goes far beyond the mere ordering and supply of books. The two men came from the same region and city and their shared native origins meant that the bookseller was adopted, whether willingly or not is hard to be sure, by the young law student as a point of reference on whom he could rely to obtain loans of money or items of clothing. In this way the letters between Parona and Gabiano allow us a glimpse of the eventful life of a university student, one quite capable of using a range of rhetorical skills to engage and affect his interlocutor. We do not in the end know from the letters just how many books Parona succeeded in obtaining from Gabiano but it is clear from the change, from his third letter onwards, in the form of address the young man uses for the older bookseller – passing from the name used simply as the

addressee to the formula “mio carissimo messer Bartolomeo” – that Gabiano was not unresponsive to the student’s needs and was generous in his help, until the misfortunes which later befell Parona brought their correspondence to a sudden end.

Letter 1. February 10, 1522.

Messer Bartolomeo, this is to let you know that I have received two letters from Asti, one from my father and one from your brother, forwarded to you so you can read what he writes there. Wherefore, if you wish to provide me with books, reply as soon as you have read this letter. I require the *Corpus* of canon law bound in wooden boards¹⁷ and the *Abbati* and the *Jasoni* bound in pasteboard.¹⁸ I will go to your place and make a solemn pledge as your brother has proposed.¹⁹ There is no more to add at present, I commend myself to you most warmly. From Padua, 10 February 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona

M. Bartolomeo, vy adviso per la presente como ho habiuto littere de Asti cioè una da mio padre et un'altra da vostro fratello, la quale se adrizza a voy, si che intendereti quello luy vy scrive. Unda se me voliti servire de libri manda-time risposta subito vista la presente. El mi bisogna haver el Corpo in iure Canonico ligato in asse, et ly abbati et Jasoni ligati in cartone, et io andarò da voy et vy farò una solempae apocha secondo ha scritto ditto vostro fratello. Non altro al presente, solum che a voy per mille volte me aricomando. Ex Padua die x Februarii 1522. Voster Cristophorus Parona.

17 Various editions of the *Corpus* of canon law were available in Venice at that time. In a subsequent letter, Parona clarifies that he needs the edition published by Torti. He specifies that he needs this multivolume edition bound in wooden boards.

18 Niccolò Tedeschi, *Prima* [–ultima] *pars Abbatís Panormitani super primo* [–quinto] *Decretalium*... (Venice, Battista de Torti, 1518), 6 vols. is certainly the edition Cristoforo wants to acquire, bound in pasteboard. At the time there were several editions available, mostly Milanese rather than Venetian, of Jason de Mayno's commentaries on the *Codex* and the *Digest*.

19 The *solenne apocha* (Lat. *scriptio debitoris*) was a chirographic document, written and signed by the debtor.

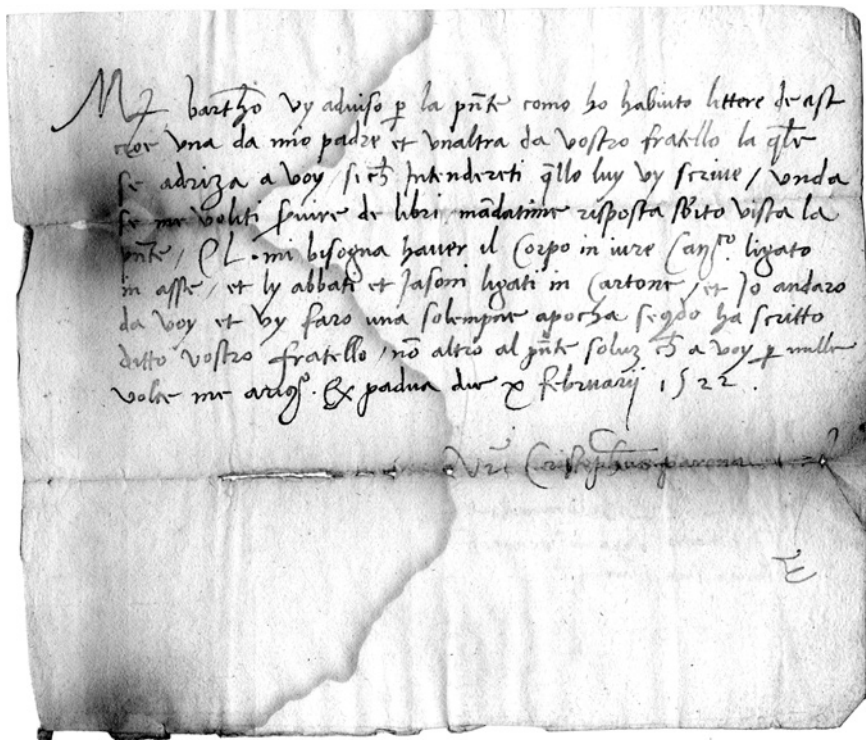


FIGURE 4.2 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea atti diversi manoscritti, b. 91-p. Letter of Cristoforo Parona to Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano, February 10, 1522 (Letter 1).

Letter 2. February 15, 1522.

Messer Bartolomeo, Master Girolamo Giberto, a bookseller in Padua,²⁰ brought you a letter from me and one from your brother Giovanni Andrea asking you to be so kind as to send me the books I need but you have still not bothered to reply to me.²¹ Since I have been in Padua I have written you three letters and I have never received a reply, I cannot understand why. Please send me your reply to your brother's letter because I am about

20 Girolamo Giberti was a bookseller and a publisher in Venice and afterwards in Padua where he was in charge of the valuation books for the Monte di Pietà; he was also *bidellum*, the bookseller for the Faculty of Law.

21 In fact, among the letters to Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano there is one written by his brother Giovanni Andrea on January 18. In this letter, Giovanni Andrea writes about another one (not extant) written at the request of Stefano Parona, who was evidently the father of Cristoforo. Stefano, alias Giovan Stefano Parona, was a well known notary in Asti, see Carlo Vassallo, 'Un nuovo documento intorno al poeta astigiano Giovan Giorgio Alione', *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 26, (1891), pp. 171–195, esp. 172.

to send letters to Asti giving an account of everything to my father.²² If you are willing to provide me with the books, I will come and see you immediately, if not, let me know. No more to add. I commend myself to you. Padua, 15 February 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona

Messer Bartholomeo, per via de Meistro Jheronimo Giberto libraro in Padua, vy ho mandato una mia cum un'altra mandata da vostro fratello m. Jo. Andrea per la quale vi farrà intendere como a voy piacesse de servirme de libri a me necessarij, e me pare al presente con supportati non ve degnaty de mandar risposta, cum cio sia che da poy sono in Padua vy ho scritto tre mie et may vy è piaciuto de scrivermi, dove questo proceda non intendo. Ho ben piacere et vy prego vogliatemi mandarmi risposta circa la littera de ditto vostro fratello, per che me accade al presente de mandar littere in Ast et dar risposta del tuto a mio padre. Se'l vi piace adunca de servirmi de libri andarò subito da voy, se altramente dittelo. Non altro. A voi de continuo me arico-mando. Ex Padua die 15 Februarii 1522. Voster Christoforus Parona.

Letter 3. April 3, 1522.

My dearest messer Bartolomeo, I have received the Baldi volumes,²³ but I am astonished you have not sent me the Canon Law Code in Torti's edition,²⁴ since, as I told you, my edition is very old and badly done. Therefore I beg you to send it to me along with the volume of the *Repetitiones*.²⁵ I've been told the boat has not yet arrived in Venice²⁶ so please find another way of sending me the Canon Law Code, together

²² Only two of them survive today in the file.

²³ The allusion here is perhaps to Baldo degli Ubaldi. *Lectura super IIII, V. et VI. Codicis* [...], Venice: Philippus Pincius, 1519, a large edition consisting of 3 vols. in folio (Edit 16, CNCE 34958), which appears to have been the most recently published in 1522.

²⁴ See note 18.

²⁵ *Primum volumen Repetitiones diversorum doctorum in iure civili*. Pavia: Bernardino Garaldi [for Giovanni Giolito de Ferrari], 1517 (Edit 16, CNCE 64140).

²⁶ It is unclear which boat's arrival was being awaited by Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano in order to be able to send books to Cristoforo (if it was not simply an invented excuse, of course). The following letter too mentions the boat, which has still not arrived. It is worth pointing out that Torti's law editions, which were the ones insistently asked for by Cristoforo, were printed in Venice and therefore should have been widely and immediately available at this time.

with the Abbati volumes,²⁷ since without them I can't study canon law as I should. After all, you must be familiar with the proverb *Aurit aquam cribris que legere vult sine libris*.²⁸ As I mentioned in a previous letter, I must graduate this year, therefore I beseech you not to leave me without books. I can wait for the Bible and other books until the boat arrives because I have less need of them. I beg you to reply to me on all these matters. No more to add. I commend myself to you. From Padua, 3 April 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona

M. Bartholomeo carissimo, vi informo ho [...] habiuto li Baldi et sono stato maraveglioso non me habiati mandato uno Corpo in Jure Civili de Torti perché como vi ho ditto el mio è antiquissimo, fatto alla grossa; unda vy prego a mandarlo una cum tuto el volume delle Repetitione. Ulterius intendo che la nave non è anchora a Vinetia, per la qual cosa se a me festi may a piacere pregovi cum qualche modo o via me vogliati mandar il Corpo in Jure Canonico, una cum ly Abbati per che vy prometto ch'io non facio ben el fatto mio quanto in studiare in iure Canonico. Imperochè sapiti bene il proverbio "Aurit aquam cribris qui legere vult sine libris". Bisogna como già vy ho scritto che in questo anno presente finisca el mio studio. Vy prego aduncha non me amancati de libri. Circa la Bibia et altri libri sono ben contento de aspettare per fine alla nave rivata imperochè di questi non ho tanto bisogno como ho delly sopradicti. Vy piaccia aduncha de farmi piacere de tuto quello vy domando, et del tuto darmi risposta. Non altro. A voi me aricomando. Ex Padua die 3 Aprillis 1522. Voster Christoforus Parona.

Letter 4. April 10, 1522

My dearest messer Bartolomeo, I have already told you many times how badly I need the books, especially the volumes of Abbati and the Canon Law Code.²⁹ I fear the boat you're waiting for won't be able to complete its journey because of all the conflicts going on at the moment, so that I'll remain frustrated and won't be able to finish my studies this year.³⁰ In the

27 See note 17 and 18.

28 A more correct version of the motto is: *Haurit aquam cribis cognitor absque libris*. He who would learn without the aid of books, Draws water in a sieve from running brooks.

29 See notes 17 and 18.

30 The so-called Italian Wars were being fought above all in Piedmont and Lombardy in this period. See Michael Mallet and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494–1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, England and New York, Pearson, 2012).

meantime I'm just wasting my time as though I were spending it in the tavern. If it's at all possible to send me these blessed books, please send me at least the Canon Law Code in Torti's edition and the entire *Repetitiones*.³¹ Please drop me a couple of lines about all this. Furthermore, I'm not able to send my letters to Asti, if you know of a way, please tell me. Our town is under siege, that says it all. Please write to me about all these matters and let me know any news you might have from our homeland which I've heard is under attack from the Spanish. No more to add except that as always I commend myself to you. From Padua 10 April 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona

M. Bartholomeo mio carissimo, già volte assay vy ho fato intendere la grande necessitate delli libri specialmente delli Abbati et del Corpo in Jure Canonico. Me dubito che questa vostra nave quale aspettati non potrà venire a porto per rispetto de tante guerre che regnano al presente, si che io restarò confuso et non poterò expedire il fatto mio in questo anno. Intertanto perdo el tempo et sto a consumarmi como se io fusse al hostaria. Se adunca possibile è de mandarmi questi benedetti libri, vy prego a mandarli, almanco uno Corpo in Jure Civili de Torti et tuto el volume delle Repetit. Vy piaccia scrivere doe parole circa el tuto. Ulterius non ho el modo de mandar le mie littere in Ast. Pregovi se voy haviti la via de mandargli fattime intendere. Semo assidiati non dico altro. Scriviteme del tuto et fatimi partecipe de qualche novelle specialmente delle nostre bande quale intendo esser state mal tractate da spagnoli. Non altro solum che a voy de continuo me aricomando. Ex Padua die X aprillis 1522. Voster Christoforus Parona.

Letter 5. April 25, 1522

My dearest messer Bartolomeo, I wrote to you the other day asking you to send me the Pietro Bembo and the Aldine edition of Petrarch but I haven't had a reply so I beseech you again to send them.³² I also asked you to send me a Canon Law Code together with the volume of the *Repetitiones* but

31 See note 25.

32 This is certainly Pietro Bembo, *Gli Asolani*, (Venice, Aldo Manuzio, 1505) (Edit 16, CNCE 4986), perhaps in the later edition published by the heirs of Aldus, 1515 (Edit 16, CNCE 4988). Petrarch had been published by the Manuzio firm in three earlier editions before 1522 (in 1501, 1514, and 1521).

you have never replied.³³ It's as if you don't want to help me, I don't know what to think. In connection with the Abbati volumes, I must tell you that a student from Bergamo here has a modern edition which he's told me he'd be prepared to exchange for a modern edition of the Bartoli. I've promised him that I'll obtain the Bartoli for him and he's promised to give me the Abbati: we'll work out how much each edition is worth. I can't go on without the Abbati so I beseech you as earnestly as I can to send me the modern edition of the Bartoli which I can exchange for the Abbati.³⁴ I am sure you won't want to let me down. I've been lent an edition of the Canon Law Code and I'm studying it as best I can. Finally, I haven't been able to send letters home so please let me know if you know of a way to. I got 12 ducats from a Milanese man who gave me a letter written in Asti on 8 February but they've not been enough. I can't find anyone who'll take my letters, I beg you to write to me about all these matters, above all to send me the books I have mentioned, without further delay. Nothing more to add, I commend myself to you. From Padua, 25 April 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona.

M. Bartholomeo carissimo, l'altro giorno vy scrissi como vy piacesse de mandarmi Piero Bembo et il Petrarcha in stampa d'Aldo et non ho habiuto risposta, unda pregovi me ly vogliati mandar. Item, vy ho scritto vy piacia de mandarmi uno Corpo in iure Civili de Torti, una cum il volume de le Repetitione et a questo may me haviti risposto, el pare non me voliti servire, non so ch'io me digha. Circa ly Abbati vy facio intendere como gh'è qua a Padua uno scolare bergamasco el quale ha ly Abbati in stampa moderna et me ha ditto che luj farebe cambio nelli Bartholi de stampa moderna. Io gly ho promesso de fargly havere ly ditti Bartholy et luy me ha promesso darmi ly Abbati et faremo estimare l'uno e l'altro; et per la qual cosa considerando che a questo modo non posso stare, cioè senza ly Abbati, pregovi quanto pregar posso me mandati ly Bartholi in stampa moderna per cambiare con ly Abbati, et a questo fare non vogliati amancare. Ulterius ho habiuto in prestito uno Corpo in Jure Canonico, et studio al meglio ch'io posso. Postremo io non ho el modo de mandar mie littere alle nostre bande, haveria piacere se voy lo haviti me'l faressi sapere. Ho tocato ducati xij da uno milanese il quale me dete una littera data de Ast a die 8 de febraro, ma non sono stati

33 See note 17 and 25.

34 There are many editions of Bartolo da Sassoferrato in Venice before 1522.

bastanti. Non trovo adunca alchuno il quale porta ditte mie littere, vy prego fattime intendere il tuto et sopra il tuto mandatime al presente li sopradetti libri et non me fatti perdere più tempo. Non altro. A voi me aricomando. Ex Padua die 25 Aprillis anno Domini 1522. Voster Christoforus Parona.

Letter 6. July 4, 1522.

My dearest messer Bartolomeo, be pleased to give our only companion Pietro Paolo Vergerio³⁵ in addition to the 30 ducats a further 7 lire worth of books, the *Cento Novelle* and the Aldine edition of Petrarch.³⁶ Please agree to do this. Moreover, at the end of this month I'll send you your cloak.³⁷ We've sent a messenger to Asti to find out if our relatives are alive or dead. No more to add for the present, I commend myself to you as always. From Padua 4 July 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona.

M. Bartholomeo carissimo [...] Petro Paulo Vergerio nostro unico compagno al qualle per suplemento delli 30 ducati darette sette libre o vero lire 7 in tanti libri, cioè el libro delle Cento Novelle et il Petrarca in stampa de Aldo, et a questo fare pregovi siatti contento. Ulterius vy mandarò al fine dy questo mese presente il vostro mantello. Havemo mandato uno messo in Ast per intendere se ly nostri parenti sono morti o vivi. Non altro al presente, solum che a voy de continuo me aricomando. Ex Padua die 4 Iuli 1522. Voster Christophorus Parona.

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- 35 Pier Paolo Vergerio, a student in 1522 in Padua, aged 24, would become one of the leading figures of the Italian Reform movement. The formula used by Cristoforo (*nostro unico compagno*) implies a close friendship.
- 36 *Cento Novelle* was the title under which Boccaccio's *Decameron* was normally cited in this period. This text had been published many times in Italy; the most recent edition was by Agostino Zani, in 1518 (Edit 16, CNCE 6245). In this same year, 1522, the heirs of Aldo would publish their own *Decameron* (Edit 16, CNCE 6258) but the colophon states that the printing of the edition was completed only in November. For the Petrarch edition, see note 18.
- 37 The cloak belonging to Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano is here mentioned for the first time. It was lent to Parona and in the following letters it becomes clear he found himself unable to give it back to its rightful owner.

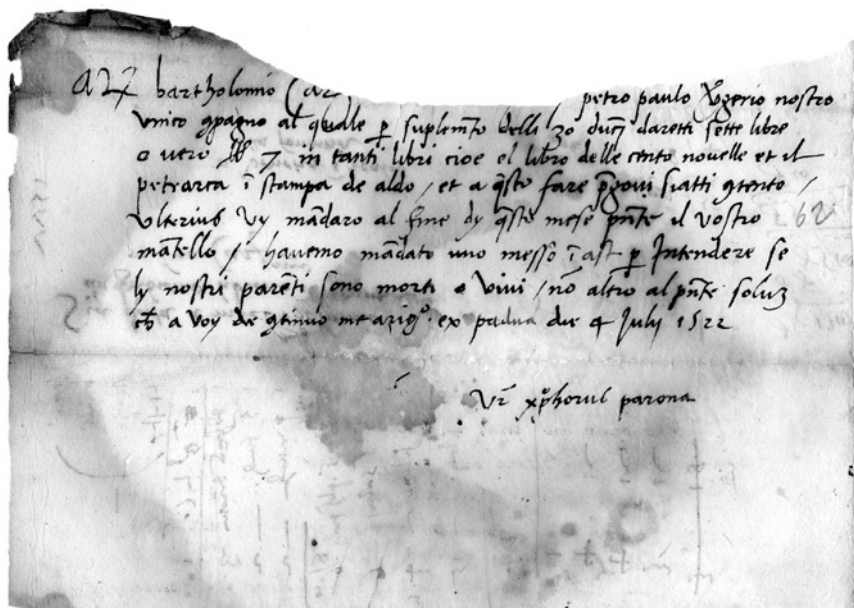


FIGURE 4.3 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea atti diversi manoscritti, b. 91-p. Letter of Cristoforo Parona to Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano, July 4, 1522 (Letter 6).

Letter 7. August 21, 1522.

My dearest messer Bartolomeo, yesterday at midnight the servant we'd sent to Asti returned. I learnt from him of the deaths of my beloved father and my uncle, and that the wretched city of Asti had put to the sack.³⁸ We all wept on hearing his words.³⁹ Because of this I haven't received any money from home so I must ask you if you can let me have your cloak as all my other clothes are in pawn to the Jew. Furthermore I beg you, if you can, to lend me a couple of ducats since I solemnly promise that I will repay most of my debt when I am back in Asti. I should add that if you don't help

38 According to a contemporary chronicle, the sack took place on the night of the 20th of February 1522 and it was so violent that the Turks could have not done worse. See Giovanni Andrea Saluzzo di Castellar, *Storia segreta del Marchesato di Saluzzo dal 1482 al 1528*, edited by Pasquale Natale, (Cavallermaggiore (Cuneo), Gribaudo, 1998), p. 330. I wish to thank Blythe Alice Raviola for her help on this point.

39 The Italian text (*piangere oldendolo parlare*) recalls some famous lines of Dante, such as *Inferno*, v, 126 (*dirò come colui che piange e dice; I will have to weep and speak together*); *Inferno*, xxxiii, 9 (*parlare e lagrimar vedrai insieme; then I shall speak – in tears*); and *Vita Nuova*, xxii, son. *Se' tu colui che hai trattato sovente*, 11 (*nel suo pianto l'udimmo parlare; we are the ones who heard her sobbing words*).

me out, I'm not sure how I can get home. Please don't deny me this, you won't lose a penny because of me, even if you'd lent me a thousand ducats: a friend in need is a friend indeed. I beg you, as your conscience prompts you, to lend me the two ducats and to let me have the cloak. No more to add, only that I beg you kindly to send me a reply, bearing in mind the sorry state I'm in. From Padua 21 August 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona.

M. Bartholomeo carissimo, advisovi como ieri alle hore XXIIII iunxe el famesio nostro quale mandassemo in Ast, dal quale ho inteysa la morte del mio carissimo padre, et anchora de mio barba, et lo grande sachemano della misera citade de Ast. Intanto che luy ne facea tutti quanti piangere oldendolo parlare, per la qual cosa per non essermi venuto subsidio da caxa vy voglio pregar che me lassati el vostro mantello perché tutte le mie veste sono in pegno allo hebreo, et anchora piacendovi de prestarmi uno payra de ducati perché vy prometto sopra la fede mia de satisfarvi in una grande parte quando sarò in Ast, advisandovi che se voy al presente non me sovenitti de questo, sono a cativo porto de andar a caxa. Pregovi non me amancati, perché non sitti per perdere uno bagatino con io, quando la summa fusse ben mille ducati; ally bisogni se ha ricorso ally boni amici. Vi prego serviteme de doi ducati d'oro et del mantello, quale approvati secondo la bona coscientia vostra. Non altro, solum che vy prego mandatimi grata risposta, habiando rispetto al misero stato mio. Ex Padua die 21 Augusti 1522. Voster Christoforus Parona.

Letter 8. August 31, 1522.

Our dearest messer Bartolomeo, I have seen what you have written to our good friend messer Xanto Corbella⁴⁰ and I am ready to write you a declaration saying I owe you 37 ducats,⁴¹ even though it seems to me superfluous given that I have already given you an *apocha* written in my own hand,⁴² which should have been sufficient for you. You can be absolutely certain of me. I am not – and never shall be I hope – a quarrelsome man,

40 Santo Corbella, native of Asti and bookseller in Padua, was a correspondent of Gabiano.

41 The total debt that Parona had accumulated amounted to the remarkable sum of 37 ducats. It is therefore clear that he had never paid for any of the books received. Not surprisingly, Gabiano was requesting another chirographic document before lending Parona more money.

42 See note 19.

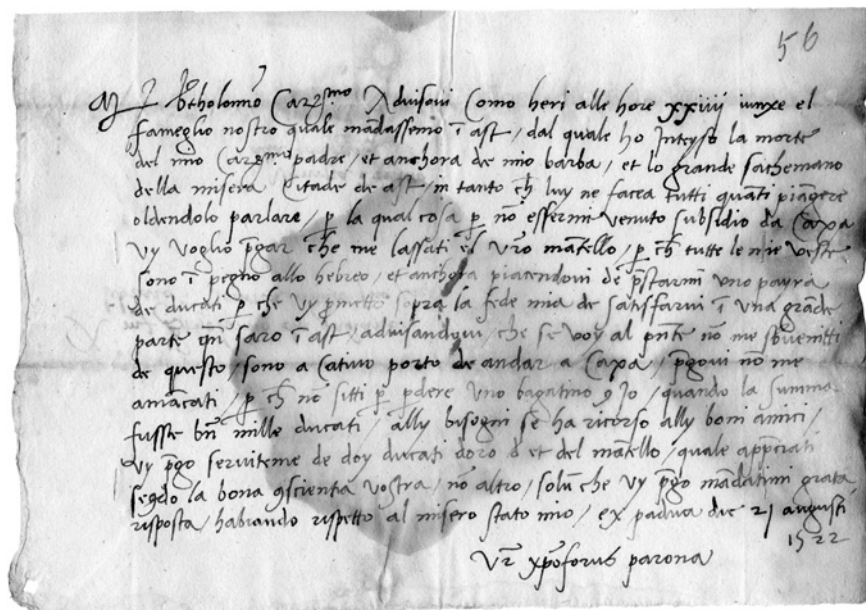


FIGURE 4.4 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea atti diversi manoscritti, b. 91-p. Letter of Cristoforo Parona to Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano, August 21, 1522 (Letter 7).

but in order to satisfy you I am prepared to do everything you wish me to do. As for your cloak, it isn't possible for me to give it back to you because as I was without a gown and knowing that I could treat your things as if they were my own I've had it made into a long gown. As far as the value of the cloak is concerned, messer Xanto and I went round all the tailors in Padua to get an estimate. I swear to you on my honour it wasn't valued anywhere above 20 lire. However, as I've said, I don't want to pick a quarrel with anyone so I beg you to accept 5 ducats, bearing in mind the misfortunes and disasters which have recently occurred to us.⁴³ As for the two ducats I asked you for eight days ago, I must tell you I now need three because two won't be enough to go home, unless I went on foot which I don't want to do as the road is very long.⁴⁴ If you'd sent me the two ducats five days ago I could have gone on horseback as far as Pavia without having to spend a penny. But the gentleman from Pavia has now departed so

43 Five ducats are 30 lire, which means that Parona agreed to value the cloak at a higher price than the tailor in Padua had done, clearly wishing to settle this business quickly with Gabiano.

44 The distance between Padua and Asti is about 300 km.

I'll need at least 3 ducats. I'll sign the declaration saying I owe you 37 ducats, with the valuation of your cloak at 5 ducats, and I beseech as much as I can to accept this. I've no more to add, except to ask you to send a reply as soon as you've received this and to reply as soon as you can as I'm planning to leave in four days' time, with or without money. I beseech you to do this and I commend myself to you. No more. From Padua the last day of August 1522.

Your Cristoforo Parona.

M. Bartholomio nostro, ho veduto quello haviti scritto a Messer Xanto Corbella nostro amicissimo, unda vy respondo che sono contentissimo de farvi uno instrumento in ampla forma dove apparerà io esservi obligato de ducati 37, ben che questa cosa a me pare superflua con ciò sia vy habia fatto una apocha scripta manu mea propria la quale doveva bastare, et senza quello sempre appresso dy me saritti securissimo per che io non sono né may, spero, sarò homo litigioso, tamen per contentar lo animo vostro sono paratissimo de far ogni cosa a voy gratissima. Circa il vostro mantello, non è possibile de mandarlo per che io trovandomi senza saio, usando confidenza delle cose vostre come mie proprie, lo ho convertito in uno saiono. Adesso circa il precio vi adviso como Messer Xanto et io andassemo da quanti sartori fussero in Padua per saper il precio de esso. Ultimate quando ben havemo voltato et cercato, per la fede qual porto a Dio, non fu estimado solum che lire xx. Tuta volta, como già vy ho ditto, non voglio contendere cum alchuno, vy prego tanto vogliati esser contento a cinque ducati et considerar le nostre disgratie et miserie noviter accadute. Circa ly doy ducati qualy vy ho richiesto già octo giorny passati, vy facio intendere como al presente me bisogna haverne tri per che doy ducati non sono bastanti de condurme a caxa, salvo se non andasse a pede la qual cosa non voglio fare per esser camino longo; se cinque giorni fa me havessi mandato ly doy ducati andava a cavallo per fine a Pavia senza spendere uno soldo nel cavallo. Adesso per esser partito quello gentilhomo paveze me bisogna almanco ducati tri, si che io me obbligarò per instrumento de ducati 37 apprezzando el mantello vostro a ducati cinque et così di questo vy prego, quanto pregar posso, vogliati esser contento. Non altro al presente, excepto che subito vista la presente vogliati mandarmi la risposta et spassarmi al più presto per che io intendo de partir omnimodo infra quattro giorni o cum dinari o senza dinari. Pregovi tanto vi sia per raccomandato. Non altro. A voy de continuo me aricomando. Ex Padua die ultimo Augusti 1522. Voster Christoforus Parona.

Plantin and the French Book Market

Malcolm Walsby

The events that occurred in the Low Countries during Christophe Plantin's lifetime have naturally led scholars to concentrate on the relationship he entertained both with local potentates and with the Spanish world.¹ The politics of printing in a city that was subjected alternately to the rule of Philip II and the Estates General naturally dominated Plantin's correspondence and his everyday life. In the business world, the printer-publisher's interests at the Frankfurt fairs have attracted much scholarship. Twice a year, in spring and in autumn, preparations for the fairs loomed large in Plantin's activities. They imposed a set of deadlines that had to be met in order to maximise sales over the short duration of the fairs. But important though the fairs were, they were far from being Plantin's only business concern.

Plantin's commercial ventures are, overall, well documented. We know much about his exchanges with other booksellers in the Low Countries and about his difficulties with the local authorities. Similarly, his exports to Spain and the British Isles have been the subject of careful studies.² In contrast, surprising little has been written about Plantin's relationship with the book world of his homeland, France. Scholars have been more interested in unearthing more information about the printer's early life than about understanding the complex and sometimes antagonistic rapport between Plantin and his fellow countrymen. The most comprehensive work on his business is Leon Voet's magisterial study on printing and bookselling activities of the Golden Compass, but he devoted only a few pages to France. The information he does provide is mainly discussed in the context of the wider sales of the workshop.³

1 See for instance the space devoted in Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam, London and New York, Vangendt & Co, Routledge & Kegan Paul and Abner Schram, 1969–72).

2 For Great Britain, see Colin Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade-Connexions with England and Scotland', *The Library*, XIV (1959), pp. 28–45. For Spain, see Frans Robben, 'Juan Pulman, librero y agente de la Oficina Plantiniana en Salamanca (1579–c. 1608)' in Hans Tromp and Pedro Peira (eds.) *Símpoio Internacional sobre Cristóbal Plantino* (Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1991), pp. 53–62 and Christian Péligré, 'La Oficina Plantiniana, los libros litúrgicos y su difusión en España un caso de estrategia editorial', *ibid.*, pp. 63–76.

3 Leon Voet, *Golden Compasses* II, pp. 397–399.

Yet, a lively trade between Antwerp and neighbouring France had developed during the sixteenth century. Booksellers and printers tried to make the most of the opportunities this afforded and Antwerp imprints were available for purchase in the shops of Parisian booksellers. Plantin took great care in developing the commercial exchanges between Antwerp and his homeland, but he was not alone in appreciating the importance of the French market. We know from provenance marks that Willem Silvius's Latin edition of one of Janus Dousa's works was, for instance, bought by a Parisian translator in the very year that it was printed.⁴ Indeed, Gilles Beys warned Plantin of Silvius's ambitions with regard to the Parisian market.⁵ But in truth Silvius did not represent a real threat: Plantin enjoyed an excellent reputation in France that other Antwerp printers would never rival.

Plantin's books were prized in sixteenth-century France. The quality of the volumes published by the *officina Plantiniana* was widely accepted. In a book printed at the end of the century, the Breton author Regnault Dorleans noted that printing, which he calls the science of immortality, found in France its best workers. This, he wrote, can be easily checked by comparing French imprints with those imported from Germany, Italy or Spain. But there was one exception to this rule: the workshop of Plantin in Antwerp.⁶ The sixteenth-century bibliographer and author Antoine du Verdier also recognised the outstanding quality of Plantin's production. In the chapter that he devoted to the art of printing in his French version of Pedro Mexia's *Lessons*, he listed Plantin in the select group that had, in his view, excelled as printers.⁷

A more private, and sincere, appreciation of the publisher's value can be found in the book inventories that were such a feature of the Renaissance book world. Plantin was one of a small handful of printers who were sufficiently esteemed to be mentioned by name in entries which included only the most basic bibliographical data.⁸ The quality of Plantin's work was equally respected

4 Janus Dousa, *Epigrammatum libri II. Satyrae libri II. Elegorum liber I. Silvarum libri II* (Antwerp, excudebat Willem Silvius, 1569). Copy kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, YC 9297.

5 Christophe Plantin to Gilles Beys, 31 July 1567. *Correspondance*, Letter 71, I, pp. 153–154.

6 Regnault Dorleans, *Les observations de diverses choses remarquées sur l'estat, couronne et peuple de France, tant ancien que moderne* (Vannes, Jean Bourrelie, 1597), pp. 220–222.

7 *Les diverses leçons d'Antoine Du Verdier, suyvens celles de Pierre Messie* (Lyon, Thomas Soubron, 1592), p. 109. He also listed the Aldine press, Francois Priscianez in Rome, Robert Estienne in Paris, Froben and Oporin in Basle, Sébastien Gryphe in Lyon and Wechel in Frankfurt.

8 See, for instance, the catalogue of Bertrand d'Argentré's collection in my 'The library of the Breton jurist and historian Bertrand d'Argentré in 1582' in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha

by the most powerful men in the kingdom. As Plantin himself boasted, the constable Anne de Montmorency had offered “a good position and means to finance my undertakings” were he to come to Paris.⁹ In 1577, Henry III also unsuccessfully tried to lure him back to France with the promise of an annual stipend and the title of royal printer for ten different languages.¹⁰ These offers were most attractive and flattering, and yet Plantin resolutely refused to return to France. Throughout his career he maintained an ambivalent relationship with his homeland.

“French Nevertheless”¹¹

Regnault Dorleans’s characterisation of Christophe Plantin as a Frenchman was part of a concerted attempt by the French to reclaim the printer after his death by stressing Plantin’s long-standing connections to the country of his birth. In the seventeenth century, the Parisian bookseller Antoine Vitré asserted that Plantin’s greatest achievement, the large multivolume polyglot Bible published between 1568 and 1572, was in reality a French achievement, even though it was printed in the Low Countries. Vitré noted: “Christophe Plantin who printed it was from Tours, all the type that was used was smelted in Paris by Guillaume Le Bé, the paper was made in Troyes, and Monsieur de la Boderie who corrected the proofs was from Normandy”.¹²

Plantin was, indeed, born in Saint-Avertin near Tours in around 1520. He began his career as a bookbinder and it was in that capacity that Plantin started working in Caen with Robert Macé before later moving to Paris. He only became a printer-publisher after having left France for the Low Countries,

Constantinidou (eds.) *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), pp. 117–140 at p. 131.

9 “Bon estat et moyen de fournir à mes entreprises”: Christophe Plantin to Gabriel Çayas, 19 December 1566, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. Max Roose (Antwerp, J.-E. Buschmann, 1883–1918), Letter 20, I, pp. 48–52.

10 Christophe Plantin to Arias Montanus, before 6 November 1577. *Correspondance*, Letter 775, V, pp. 270–274.

11 “François toutesfois”: Description of Plantin in Dorleans’s *Les observations de diverses choses*, p. 221.

12 “Christoffle Plantin qui l'imprima estoit de Tours, tous les caracteres qui servirent à cette impression furent fondus à Paris par Guillaume le Bé, le papier fut fait à Troyes, et Monsieur de la Boderie qui en corrigea les espreuves estoit de Normandie”: Antoine Vitré, *S'il est advantageous pour le public d'accorder aux libraires des continuations de privileges, en l'estat que les choses sont à present dans la librairie* ([Paris, Antoine Vitré, circa 1680]), p. 3.

where he rapidly became, in Léon Voet's words, "wholly assimilated in the life of Antwerp".¹³ Plantin does not seem to have enjoyed his time in Paris. He was not integrated into the closed network of Parisian printers, booksellers and bookbinders. Surviving early correspondence and the first account books of the Plantinian press do not point to a particularly strong relationship with those active in the city's book community.

But Plantin was an astute businessman. Even if he had not developed close connexions with the main protagonists of the French book world, he clearly had a good understanding of the market. In his early years, he was careful to identify publishing opportunities that had not yet been fully exploited by his Parisian counterparts as is demonstrated by the large quantity of reprinted or translated French material he published. The contacts he had made in Paris with potential investors also encouraged him to turn much of his production towards the French market.¹⁴ France represented an important source of manpower and paper for Plantin. He regularly employed French journeymen printers in his workshop and sourced much of his paper in either Paris or Troyes.¹⁵ But it was the financial investment he received from France that was crucial to his development. Some of the funds necessary for initially setting up the presses came from Paris, though in the early years of his Antwerp enterprise, the local situation was certainly important to the printer.

After his return from exile in 1563, Plantin invested heavily in the French market. He made the crucial decision to concentrate on international distribution and organised the shipping of numerous bales and barrels to France and Frankfurt.¹⁶ During the troubles that afflicted the Low Countries over the decades that followed, the French market represented a reliable source of regular income for Plantin's business. The importance of this trade is revealed by his reaction to the news of the massacres of Saint Bartholomew's day. When the news broke in Antwerp in August 1572, Plantin adopted drastic measures, firing 33 of his 46 staff. It was only after a visit to Paris where he was reassured about the state of his outlet that he re-employed the workmen, returning to normal numbers by the start of 1573.¹⁷ Paris and the Parisian commissions from

13 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, I, 13. Plantin began printing in 1555 (ibid. p. 17).

14 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, pp. 32–33.

15 When offering to print a Bible, Plantin explicitly mentioned Troyes and La Rochelle paper to which he had easy access: Christophe Plantin to Gabriel Çayas, 19 December 1566. Letter 20, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 48–52. His journals list many consignments of paper from Paris. See for instance the four bales received on 20 July 1580: Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 58, f. 91.

16 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, I, 46.

17 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, pp. 78–79.

booksellers continued to play a vital role in funding his enterprise, as he noted in a letter of 1578.¹⁸ After 1567, it was towards Spain that Plantin looked for patrons, mainly in Philip II's entourage, but though the patronage and protection came from Spain, the money increasingly came from France.¹⁹

Because of the prominence of the French market in his distribution network, Plantin sought to create the best retail conditions possible. In Frankfurt, this had meant using a warehouse in order to keep stock in situ between the spring and autumn fairs. However, in a city such as Paris, a different strategy was necessary to help the distribution of books all year round. His first solution was to acquire a bookshop which would enable him to control directly the retail sale of his books. To do this, he bought premises ideally situated in the *rue saint Jacques*, the main commercial street for printers and booksellers in the sixteenth century.²⁰ But over time Plantin increasingly believed that his outlet in the city was not giving his output the large sales that his high-quality books deserved. Ever keen to maximise his sales in France, he decided to explore alternative methods of distribution. Rather than rely on his own employees, he instead latched onto the idea of recruiting a pre-established local bookseller to boost sales. His choice for this new retail strategy was a comparatively modest figure, Emmanuel Richard, with whom he signed a six year contract in January 1577. The terms of the contract were very restrictive for the bookseller. Plantin stipulated that Richard could neither sell nor stock any books that he had not sent to him for retail.²¹ Plantin's dominance in the relationship was such that parts of the text included clauses that resembled those normally used for apprenticeships rather than for contracts between equals.²²

This first partnership was not a success. Fewer than eight months into the six year contract, the two parties mutually agreed to terminate the agreement.²³ The failure encouraged Plantin to seek out a partnership of a different kind, one which required less direct involvement. Consequently, he decided to sell the Paris shop and establish a new retail strategy. The sale of the shop has

18 Christophe Plantin to cardinal Madrutius, 1578. Letter 810, *Correspondance*, VI, pp. 24–26.

19 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, I, p. 50.

20 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, I, p. 50.

21 Notary minutes of contract between Richard and Plantin, 21 January 1577, National Archives, Paris, *Minutier Central*, étude XXXIII, p. 192.

22 See, for instance, the insistence on “acceptans de les servir et chacun d’eulx ensemblement et particulierement, bien deuement, loyaument et fidellement” and the ban on Richard leaving. *Ibid.*

23 Notary minutes revoking the contract between Richard and Plantin, 12 September 1577, National Archives, Paris, *Minutier Central*, étude XXXIII, p. 192.

traditionally been interpreted as being motivated by a much needed injection of cash after the Spanish Fury.²⁴ But the sack of Antwerp had taken place on 4 November 1576, almost a year earlier, and so the sale of the shop is unlikely to have been a direct consequence of the Fury. Certainly, the sale did not undermine Plantin's trade with France; it was a logical step in the publisher's search for an intermediary who could market and distribute successfully the production of the *Officina Plantiniana* in the kingdom. The change of strategy was all the more effective because of Plantin's choice of distributor, Michel Sonnius. Richard and Sonnius were very different types of booksellers. Sonnius did not simply sell other people's imprints: he commissioned (alone or in association with other Parisian booksellers) a large number of editions.²⁵ His active interest in the publishing market made him a more useful interlocutor – as well as a potential business partner on editions that he commissioned directly from Plantin.²⁶ In this respect, the relationship between Paris and Antwerp changed radically following the sale of the shop: to a certain extent Plantin was increasingly simply responding to specific requests and market requirements.

Plantin himself realised this change in his role and noted it with some bitterness in a letter sent in 1585. He cast himself as having become no more than a glorified job printer. His reputation no longer primarily guaranteed the financial success of his business but instead was used:

For the sole profit of a few booksellers in Paris, Lyon, Cologne and other places, who used my workshop, my name and my toil, who give me money and paper to cover the requirements of the books that I print, that they then take away to sell for their own private profit, leaving me, like a mercenary, with no more to show for it by way of payment than a small number of copies and the renown that, by the grace of God, I have with great difficulty maintained and still have.²⁷

24 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, I, p. 87.

25 We know of 125 editions with which he was involved before 1578 (statistics taken from www.ustc.ac.uk – accessed 1 February 2014).

26 Voet, *Golden Compasses*, I, p. 91.

27 “au seul profit de quelques libraires de Paris, de Lyon, de Cologne et d'autres lieux, lesquels s'aidants de mon Imprimerie, de mon nom et de mes labeurs me baillent argent et papiers pour fournir aux despends des livres que j'imprime, lesquels ils retirent à soy et les vendent à leur seul et particulier profit: sans qu'il m'en demeure que le simple loyer du labeur comme mercenaire quelque petit nombre d'exemplaires pour monstre et le renom que par la grace de Dieu fort difficilement j'ay entretenu jusques à présent et conserve”: Christophe Plantin to Çayas, 28 November 1585, *Correspondance*, VII, p. 1047. He

Plantin was not content simply being a printer: publishing and bookselling were where the most profit was to be made.²⁸ More than anything else, trade was at the heart of his interests. It was the reason he gave for settling in Antwerp, noting that “no other place in the world could furnish more convenience for the trade I wished to practise”.²⁹ But this strategic choice only made sense if he was able to export his output to more populous areas and, in particular, to France.

Sales Strategies

Creating a gap in the French market was a difficult task for any outsider. The Parisian print industry was the most vibrant in Europe when Plantin settled in Antwerp with on average over 500 editions being published each year in the 1550s. In Paris, the main booksellers and printers formed a closely knit community with strong family ties and numerous intermarriages.³⁰ There seemed to be little scope for foreign publishers. Yet selling to France and particularly to Paris was vital for Plantin. He aimed many of his first editions at the French market: during his first eight years in Antwerp he printed 99 editions in French and only 35 in Dutch, 8 in Spanish and 4 in German.³¹ Plantin's success in providing books for this market was the result of a carefully organised strategy.

First, Plantin identified novelty as being a key issue. Newness had for centuries been a concept that European authors had avoided, especially in the book world where authors purposefully sought to distance themselves from the idea that they were providing their readership with anything “new”.³² Despite

had already made a similar claim in his earlier letter to the same correspondent four years earlier 5 September 1581, *Correspondance*, v1, pp. 288–290.

28 The difference of revenue is illustrated by the taxes paid in Lyon, where booksellers paid on average 300 *livres tournois* whilst printers paid only 18 *livres*: Christian Péligré, ‘Les éditeurs lyonnais et le marché espagnol aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles’ in Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, et al., *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'Ancien Régime: colloque de la Casa de Velázquez* (Paris, A.D.P.F., 1981), pp. 85–93 at p.86

29 Christophe Plantin to Gregory XIII, 9 October 1574, quoted in Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 1 p. 13.

30 On the nature of the Parisian book world in the period see Philip John, *Publishing in Paris, 1570–1590: a bibliometric analysis* (PhD thesis, University St Andrews, 2011).

31 Over this period there were also 107 Latin editions. Statistics taken from www.ustc.ac.uk – accessed 1 February 2014.

32 Medieval authors did not seek to be innovative but to adapt and rework: Cynthia J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons and Printers. Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 29.

continued criticism of the concept of innovation in more traditional circles, this changed radically during the first century of print.³³ By the time Plantin started publishing, readers were actively seeking out new texts, though choosing titles remained a difficult and hazardous business.³⁴ In this regard, the choices were conservative: most of what was sent to Paris consisted of Catholic works, editions of classical authors, educational volumes and literary texts.³⁵ But such apparent conservatism is misleading: what Plantin produced was new. The printer made a considerable effort to keep abreast of the texts published. He created an inventory of all the editions of his contemporaries organised by place of print, using all the sources at his disposal.³⁶ In this catalogue pride of place was given to editions published in the main French centres of print: Paris and Lyon.³⁷ Plantin was very proud of not relying on the reprints of previous editions and avoided aping the strategies of other publishers. In a letter to a Lyon bookseller, he asserted that he had never printed a work that had already been published except, perhaps, at the very start of his career. Since then he had ensured that even with editions of classical texts he had the work annotated and corrected by a scholar and never relied on previous editions of the text.³⁸ The interest of Parisian booksellers for anything new underlined the value of this strategy.³⁹

Another feature of Plantin's production was that he was at pains to make some of his early editions seem more French in order to attract a local readership in Paris. To begin with he worked directly with local booksellers in order to

33 On these criticisms and on the interplay of the concepts of novelty and tradition see Frank Lestringant's article 'La nouveauté, un scandale très ancien. Note sur la polémique religieuse en France au temps des Guerres de Religion' in François Laroque and Franck Lessay (eds.) *Innovation et tradition de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 91–106.

34 See Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 69–71.

35 See the journals kept by Christophe Plantin which give the details of contents of the bales and barrels sent to Paris between 1566 and 1589 (Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 44–66).

36 Register of editions published by Plantin's contemporaries, 1555–1593, Museum Plantin-Moretus, ms. 296. The information was "recueilly tant de divers catalogues que des billets des demandeurs" (see f. 190).

37 Ibid. at 206 to 290 for Paris and 291 to 342 for Lyon.

38 Christophe Plantin to Antoine Gryphius, 22 November 1575. Letter 676, *Correspondance*, V, pp. 71–73.

39 "S'il y a quelque chose de nouveau je vous prie nous en faire participant": Martin Le Jeune to Christophe Plantin, 18 August 1558. Letter 2, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 4–11.

help him break into the market. This was the case with the Parisian bookseller Martin Le Jeune in 1559 and 1561.⁴⁰ But this partnership was not particularly fruitful. Plantin also tried less orthodox strategies. In 1557, his edition of Gilles Corrozet's *Les divers propos memorables des nobles et illustres hommes de la chrestienté* was published with different issues, some which acknowledged his role as the printer-publisher and some which instead used a false imprint.⁴¹ The latter issue proclaimed on the title page that the book was to be found in Paris "Chez Arnould l'Anger".⁴² This fictitious bookseller was invented by Plantin in order to lull the casual buyer into a false sense of security: the name resembled that of the Parisian bookseller Arnoul L'Angelier who had died that very year.⁴³

This strategy was unlikely to endear Plantin to the Paris book world which would have easily determined the real printer of such a thinly disguised false imprint.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the acquisition of a shop in Paris presented Plantin with a more legitimate opportunity to use a Parisian address on the title pages of his publications. On some of his editions printed in 1567 and 1568, just after he had bought the shop, he simply gave the address as "à Paris au compas d'or, rue Saint Jacques".⁴⁵ Plantin therefore elected to omit his name completely from the title page. He must have felt that he was too heavily associated with Antwerp and that this would have prejudiced his sales. His nascent reputation as a high quality printer was insufficient to compensate for his foreignness with buyers who were not sufficiently well-versed to recognise his device.

40 Girolamo Ruscelli, *Les secrets* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin for Martin Le Jeune in Paris, 1559), USTC 30788 and Olaus Magnus, *Histoire des pays septentrinaux* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin for Martin Le Jeune in Paris, 1561), USTC 9706.

41 The issue with the correct imprint exists in two states, one with a pagination error and one with this error corrected: Gilles Corrozet, *Les divers propos memorables des nobles et illustres hommes de la chrestienté* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1557), respectively USTC 15408 and 61004.

42 Gilles Corrozet, *Les divers propos memorables des nobles et illustres hommes de la chrestienté* ("Paris, chez Arnould L'Anger" [=Antwerp, Christophe Plantin], 1557), USTC 13050.

43 Arnoul L'Angelier was active between 1536 and 1557: Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens: libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie: depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle*, Second edition (Paris, M.J. Minard, 1965), pp. 235–236.

44 Not only was there a second issue with Plantin's address on the title page, but the book also used his easily recognisable typographic material. On the question of levels of anonymity see Malcolm Walsby, 'L'auteur et l'imprimé polémique et éphémère français au seizième siècle' in Martine Furno and Raphaële Mouren (eds.) *Auteur, traducteur, collaborateur, imprimeur...qui écrit?* (Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2013), pp. 35–56: pp. 47–52.

45 Voet gives a couple of examples in his *Golden Compasses*, II, p. 14.

In order to develop his profile in France, simply producing interesting new editions was not sufficient. The account books demonstrate that Plantin was fully aware that he needed to publicise his production in Paris. The distance that separated him from his target audience made him rely on visual means to promote his imprints. In 1576 he included in the barrel he sent to Paris some copies of his *Tituli librorum novorum* to be posted up at crossroads in the city.⁴⁶ Three years later he chose to send 25 copies of the more substantial catalogue of his imprints to Michel Sonnius, though by then they had entered into a commercial agreement and he felt empowered to charge his associate for the privilege of distributing his catalogue.⁴⁷ The importance of such advertising was also recognised by Gilles Beys when he was Plantin's factotum in charge of the publisher's bookshop in Paris. He wrote explicitly in one of his letters about the need to have sufficient promotional material, requesting that he be sent posters and title pages that could be posted up as it clearly had an effect on the sales of books.⁴⁸

The vast majority of Plantin's sales in France were done by consignments sent in either bales or barrels to booksellers. This type of wholesale had the notable advantage of significantly simplifying Plantin's task. He only had to respond to the precise requests he received either from his factotum in his Paris bookshop or from other French booksellers rather than attempt to second guess the precise needs of the French market himself. Virtually all the books sent went to either Paris or Lyon: very few other French towns are mentioned by name in his registers. Paris was by far and away the most important outlet for Plantin's exports, both in terms of value and in the sheer quantity of books sent. The simplicity of this system did not stop Plantin from also providing books for individuals on request but this remained rare, most of this type of trade was organised by his Paris outlets.

Some Frenchmen did buy books directly from Plantin at his shop in Antwerp when they were in the Southern Netherlands. The journals note a number of such instances throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. This was the case, for instance, for the French ambassador, Bellièvre, who bought over 85 florins worth of books in one visit to the Golden Compass in 1578.⁴⁹ It was also the case during the brief reign of François de Valois, duke of Anjou and

46 Journal for 11 October 1576, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 54, f. 162.

47 The 25 copies combined are valued at 1 florin 5 stuivers: journal for 22 April 1579, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 57, f. 52.

48 Gilles Beys to Christophe Plantin, 28 February 1570. Letter 219, *Correspondance*, II, pp. 122–126.

49 See the journal entry for 4 August 1578, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 68, f. 96.

Alençon. The journals include a number of entries for some high profile members of the duke's entourage such as Espinay de Saint Luc (represented by his secretary) and François de Gondi in this period.⁵⁰ Booksellers also sometimes made the journey to Antwerp in order to stock up with some of Plantin's imprints. This was the case for instance for the Parisian bookseller Martin Le Jeune, or for the Lyon bookseller Charles Pesnot. In contrast, Sébastien Nivelles preferred to send his son to complete the necessary transactions rather than leave Paris himself.⁵¹ They also sometimes used more local representatives. The Lille bookseller Charles Boulet represented both Charles Pesnot of Lyon and Nicolas Chesneau of Paris on the same trip to Antwerp in 1582.⁵²

Plantin also sought to profit from the complex political and religious conflict that engulfed France in the second half of the sixteenth century. The civil wars created opportunities: during the late 1560s the production of new editions fell in Paris, reaching a low ebb in 1570. The conflict discouraged French publishers from embarking on costly large scale enterprises. This, added to disruption caused by the threat of strikes and the demands of the journeymen-printers, meant that the French industry was in disarray.⁵³ Though Plantin himself had to face some unrest within his own workshop, this did not have the same detrimental effect on his production.⁵⁴ Certainly the significant fall in the Parisian output of works by classical authors, educational books and religious texts – all vital parts of Plantin's exports to France – represented a signal opportunity.⁵⁵

The Difficulties of Selling in France

The context of war also had detrimental effects on Plantin's trade. It made the exportation of books to France a more hazardous affair as the traditional routes became less trustworthy. In times of peace, international exchanges were difficult enough. Books whether sent by ship or over land were subject to

50 See respectively the entries for 3 and 10 December 1582, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 60, ff. 201 and 203.

51 Journal entry for 25 April 1580, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 58, f. 50.

52 Journal entries for 15 and 18 June 1582, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 60, ff. 79 and 81.

53 Malcolm Walsby, '1570: *l'annus horribilis* de l'édition parisienne' in H. Daussy, I. His, & J. Vignes (eds.) *1570: Le mariage des arts au cœur des Guerres de Religion* (Paris, forthcoming).

54 Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, p. 113.

55 See Table 3 in Walsby, '1570: *l'annus horribilis*'.

interception and losses. This was particularly the case as they were generally sent on ships that also transported other goods that were more attractive to pirates.⁵⁶ This is best illustrated by the events of 1580 that underlined the dangers of exporting books by sea.

In early 1580, Plantin had sent two large consignments of books to the Paris bookseller Michel Sonnius and one to the Lyon bookseller Charles Pesnot. These three barrels were to travel together in the ship of Cornelis Hildernissen which was bound for Rouen. There, the books were to be received by local bookseller Thomas Maillard who would dispatch the relevant barrels to Paris and Lyon. However, the ship never arrived in Rouen: it was intercepted by pirates and its cargo was pillaged. The vessel and its crew were left to limp back to Antwerp where the merchants could evaluate the damage. Though the total value of Plantin's goods was high (some 1,500 florins), the losses incurred by the printer were limited. Clearly, the pirates had not been the reading type and had little interest in books. Certainly, books represented poor bounty: their retail was a specialised business and the origins of the goods easy to determine. The pirates had smashed one of the barrels that had been destined for Sonnius and which needed to be repaired as it was "tout en piece". But they had not taken any of the books with them, nor had they forced the remaining two barrels sent by Plantin.

The only damage to the cargo as far as Plantin was concerned was due to the collateral effects of the books no longer being protected by the barrel's shell. Three missals and two books of hours needed to be replaced as they "are all rotten, having been drenched and completely spoilt", but virtually all the remaining volumes were fine. There were just a few books which needed running repairs, but these Plantin was able to do by using sheets that had previously been printed ("with others from flawed sheets"). To do all this, the barrels were removed from the stricken ship, taken back to the workshop on the Vrijdagmarkt, repaired and sent back to the port where, this time, they were entrusted to another captain, Guillaume Avenay. This time the cargo safely made its way to Normandy and Plantin could reflect that he had been lucky that the cost of the unforeseen events remained modest (under 40 florins).⁵⁷

Pirates were not the only ones who could intercept the consignments sent from Antwerp to Paris. As early as 1558, the Parisian bookseller Martin Le Jeune

56 On the dangers of international trade see also the analysis of Henri Lapeyre in his *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955), pp. 399–422.

57 "ont esté toutz pourris et mouillés du tout gastez" and "des aultres feuilles hors des imperfections": Journal entries for 19 February 1580 and 11 July 1580, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 58, respectively ff. 23 and 89.

warned Plantin that some books were being stolen between the packaging of the bales in the Southern Netherlands and their unpacking in Paris. He wrote that Plantin should be wary of a certain merchant of Tournai that the printer employed as an intermediary as six volumes of the *Historia Belgica* had gone missing though he was certain that they had been packed.⁵⁸ In 1571, Plantin was further embarrassed by the loss of an annotated manuscript which he had sent back to its Parisian author but had been lost en route by the carters. In typical fashion, Plantin's letter to the author mainly bemoaned his own loss as he had invested, by his own reckoning, some 300 *écus* in the publishing project.⁵⁹

Plantin was dependent on other merchants to ensure that his consignments were sent to Paris. The route taken varied considerably. Some boats followed the coast to Normandy and then sailed up the Seine to Rouen where local bookseller Thomas Maillard could receive the books and ensure that they reach Paris safely.⁶⁰ Others stopped in Calais and the bales and barrels then went over land towards Paris.⁶¹ Such variations meant that there were important differences in the time it would take to get volumes from Antwerp to Plantin's booksellers in Paris. The inevitable delay between the printing of the final leaf of a text in the Southern Netherlands and the moment when the first copy could be sold in France was a notable restriction which influenced the type of books that Plantin selected for his Parisian buyers. There was little point in sending items closely related to recent events or pamphlets which would become rapidly too dated to be sold on. As one of his contacts in Paris commented: "if we had some at the very start they would sell, but such things should not be put in barrels that generally take two months to make the journey and that, when they have arrived, such books must be made into envelopes and blotting paper".⁶²

58 Martin Le Jeune to Christophe Plantin, 18 August 1558. Letter 2, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 4–11.

59 Christophe Plantin to G. Vailant de Guellis, July 1571. Letter 280, *Correspondance*, II, pp. 221–224.

60 See for example the journal entry for 27 April 1580, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 58, f. 51.

61 See for instance the journal entry for 18 January 1582, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 60, f. 11. But just one week later the books were being sent via Rouen (entry for 7 February 1582, *ibid.*, f. 23).

62 "si on en avoit au commencement cela se vendroit, mays toutes telles choses ne se doivent mettre en tonneaux qui sont ordinairement deux moys sur chemin et estant arrivés il fault faire enveloppes et maculatures de telz livres": Porret to Jan Moretus, 18 September 1582. Letter 989, *Correspondance*, VII, pp. 61–64.

The speed with which books could be made available to readers in France was therefore an important issue. Even before the journals start we have good evidence of books printed by Plantin being rapidly available on the French market. A copy of Pierre d'Oudegherst's *Chronicles of Flanders* printed for Plantin in 1571 was bought the following year for 30 sols in Paris by a German buyer.⁶³ Most buyers would have wanted to acquire Plantin's books as quickly as possible, especially as newness and originality were an important part of the attraction of his output. The collection of François Rasse des Neux is interesting in this regard. Rasse des Neux was a surgeon in Paris and, more significantly in the context of this article, a bibliophile who conscientiously wrote his name and the date of acquisition on the title pages of his books.⁶⁴ His collection was dispersed after his death, but the copies I have been able to locate show that between 1558 and 1582 he bought 18 copies of editions printed by Plantin within three years of their production and, in most cases, in the very year the work was published (see Table 5.1).

Distance did not just affect the time it took for readers to get access to Plantin's books; it also made payments more difficult. First, as Plantin himself noted, creditors were happier to wait a month when the debtor was present locally than an hour if he was elsewhere.⁶⁵ This made transactions between cities and countries difficult. Second, the book trade generally operated by exchanging volumes rather than by cash payments. This meant that Plantin had to determine which volumes he could accept in exchange for his books. This could potentially have represented a major stumbling block when trading with France: his German partners were not interested in francophone works; that was a trend that was to develop later, in Enlightenment Europe.⁶⁶ Until then, Plantin could only deal with Latin editions that could be sold either locally or in the rest of Europe. The religious divisions also placed significant limitations on which books could be sold on. French, and especially Lyon editions, were increasingly considered as potentially heretical in much of the

63 Pierre d'Oudegherst, *Les chroniques et annales de Flandres depuis l'an VIc et XX jusques a l'an M.CCCC.LXXVI* (Antwerp, Jan Verwithagen chez Christophe Plantin, 1571). Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, K 210.

64 Most recently on Rasse des Neux see Mark Greengrass, 'Desserrant les Nœuds. François Rasse et les premières guerres de religion' in Gabriele Haug-Moritz and Lothar Schilling (eds.), *Médialité et interprétation contemporaine des premières Guerres de Religion* (Paris, Institut Historique Allemand, 2014), pp. 68–80.

65 Christophe Plantin to Pierre Porret, [1567]. Letter 53, *Correspondance*, 1, pp. 112–114.

66 See Jeffrey Freedman, *Books without Borders in Enlightenment Europe: French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Works* (Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

TABLE 5.1 *Plantin and France*

Author	Title	USTC	Library	Imprint date	Date acquired
Curiel, Alonso de	Lettres interceptes du Contador Alonso de Curiel, au prince de Parme	4006	BM Carpentras	1579	1579
	Lettres des estats d'Artois et des deputés de Haynaut et Douay, aux deputés des estats generaux des Pais Bas	4013	BM Carpentras	1579	1579
	Lettres des princes electeurs, assemblez a Colongne pour accorder la paix des Pais Bas	4019	BM Carpentras	1579	1579
Juan de Austria	Exhortation faite par monseigneur l'archiduc d'Austrice, aux Estats generaux desdits pais	4026	BM Carpentras	1579	1579
	Lettres et resolution des estats de la ville de Lille et chastellenies dudit Lille, Douay et Orchies	4028	BM Carpentras	1579	1579
Le Petit, Jean-François	Emanuel – Erneste: dialogue de deux person- nages sur l'estat du Pais Bas	4103	Paris, BnF	1580	1582
	Responce veritable aux lettres patentes et persua- sions abusives de Don Jan d'Austrice	4166	BM Carpentras	1578	1578
Marnix, Philips van	Responce des Estats generaux du Pays-Bas, a la proposition qui leur a esté faite par l'illustre seigneur Otto-Heynrich comte de Schwartzenberg	4167	BM Carpentras	1578	1578

Author	Title	USTC	Library	Imprint date	Date acquired
Willem I	Recueil au vray de l'assassinat commis en la personne du tres illustre prince, monseigneur le prince d'Orange, conte de Nassau	9254	BM Rouen	1582	1582
Philip II	Ordonnance et declaration nouvelle sur l'entretènement de la pacification de Gand	13584	BM Carpentras	1578	1578
Des Autels, Guillaume	La paix venue du ciel	14884	Paris, BnF	1559	1559
La Gessée, Jean de	La Flandre, a monseigneur. Plus XIII sonnetz francoys et quelques vers latins	15457	Paris, BnF	1582	1582
Curiel, Alonso de	Lettres interceptes du contador Alonso de Curiel au prince de Parme	333001	BM Carpentras	1579	1579
L'Ecluse, Charles de	Aliquot notae in Garciae Aromatum historiam	401924	BM Troyes	1582	1584
Acosta, Cristóbal	Aromatum et medicamentorum in Orientali India nascentium liber	401927	BM Troyes	1582	1584
L'Ecluse, Charles de	Stirpium nomenclator Pannonicus	402015	BM Troyes	1584	1584
Rogers, Daniel	De laudibus Antverpiae oda sapphica	404440	Paris, BU Sorbonne	1565	1567
L'Ecluse, Charles de	Rariorum aliquot stirpium, per Pannoniam, Austriam, et vicinas quasdam provincias observatarum historia, quatuor libris expressa	414618	BM Troyes	1583-84	1584

Catholic world. In 1570 one of the major exporters of French books to Spain, the Ruiz family, faced difficulties when seeking to sell on books that could have been suspected of heresy.⁶⁷ Plantin himself faced similar problems: in 1571 he was forced to have a member of the local ecclesiastical authorities present when he opened a bale of books sent from Lyon.⁶⁸

The price of exporting and packaging the books could also be a source of problems. The accounts show how careful Plantin's men were in shielding the books from the weather and other possible disasters. Some of the entries in the accounts show the amount paid for his staff's time and detail the cost of preparing a bale with entries for the canvas, the rope and even the straw used to protect the volumes.⁶⁹ The extra expenditure was resented by the French booksellers who received the consignments as they felt it represented hidden costs. The Lyon bookseller Guillaume Rouillé sent a scathing letter to Plantin noting that it was "the most expensive packaging that I have ever received from Antwerp or Frankfort" and requesting that henceforth he use the same bales as Rouillé sent him.⁷⁰ He also added that this over-zealous packaging did not protect the books any more than normal packaging. In this Rouillé appears to have been correct; Plantin's consignments were not immune to losses caused by water damage.⁷¹

The introduction of a toll for all goods in Zeeland increased the marginal cost of sending the volumes abroad even further.⁷² All such extra expenditure inevitably made Plantin's books more expensive to French buyers when set against editions printed locally. Increasingly, Plantin would have to rely on his growing reputation for producing fine editions rather than purely on

67 Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands* at pp. 569–570.

68 "Receu une basle de livres de Lyon...et en icelle estoit contenu ce qui s'ensuict ayant esté ouverte sous l'auctorité et censure de monseigneur maistre Sebastian Baer pleban de l'eglise de Nostre Dame". Entry for 3 April 1571 in the Journal, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 49, fo. 45.

69 For instance see the "Facture d'une balle des livres pour le sieur Michiel Sonnius à Paris", journal entry for 10 September 1576, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 54, f. 153. In this case, the cost of packaging represented just over 1.5% of the total value of the consignment.

70 "le plus cher emballage que j'ay receu en ma vye d'Anvers ny de Francfort": Guillaume Rouillé to Christophe Plantin, 26 December 1565, Letter 19, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 47–48.

71 Christophe Plantin to Fr. de Villalva, 4 October 1574. Letter 561, *Correspondance*, IV, pp. 144–148.

72 See the journal entry for 16 July 1579 which noted for a barrel of books to be sent to Michel Sonnius in Paris, "Pour les nouveaux impostz et aultres tolles extraordinaires: fl. 3 s. 15", Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archives n° 57, f. 102.

competitive pricing. In that regard, the recognition he received following his publication of the polyglot Bible had some commercial value as it singled him out as a printer of great distinction. It is noteworthy that most of the laudatory comments and French appreciation for Plantin as a printer post-date the production of the Bible.

Plantin and French Booksellers

The most important issue Plantin had to face in his dealings with the French was their resentment at his success and his ambition. The anger of most of the other publishers was directed at the books he published and his desire to sell them in France. Guillaume Rouillé tried to warn him against printing a certain title politely, suggesting that “you have enough other things to do”.⁷³ But other booksellers were not so gentle. The Lyon bookseller Antoine Gryphius had written to Plantin to complain about the fact that though a consortium of Lyon booksellers had decided to print a *Thesaurus linguae hebraice*, Plantin had embarked on the publication of a similar work. Plantin had responded by seeking to reach some type of agreement but he felt that the consortium had not taken his conditions seriously, “refusing straight out all honest terms”, and that they had treated him “with severity and haughtiness”.⁷⁴ The Lyon booksellers were certainly very prickly on the subject of their relationship with Plantin. Gryphius accused Plantin of having written and printed disobliging comments about the Lyon industry – a claim that baffled and annoyed the Antwerp publisher. Plantin was further incensed by the insinuation that he had reprinted some of their editions.

Plantin distrusted many of his French colleagues and shared this distrust with his correspondents. On the prominent bookseller Jacques du Puis he commented “I know him to be sly”, before continuing “I know all about his shrewdness and presumptuous audacity when seeking by whatever means to make the most of those over whom he believes to have a hold”.⁷⁵ In a letter written a few days later, the publisher Jean Granjon did not fare much better:

73 “vous avez assez d'autres choses à faire”: Guillaume Rouillé to Christophe Plantin, 26 December 1565, Letter 19, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 47–48.

74 “refusant à plat toutes honnestes conditions” and “severement et hautement”: Christophe Plantin to Antoine Gryphius, 22 November 1575. Letter 676, *Correspondance*, V, pp. 71–73.

75 “je le cognois rusé” and “je cognois le pellé sur ses finesses et hardiesses outrecuidées de s'attacher à celluy sur qui il pense avoir prinse, par quelque moyen que ce soit”: Christophe Plantin to Jean Desserans, 27 July 1567. Letter 65, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 144–147.

he “had taken advantage of me, as I had informed you a long while back”.⁷⁶ More generally he deplored the lack of honesty of the Parisians. He noted that they wished to make people,

believe other things than the truth which is the habit of many people, and principally those who practise in Paris, who boast much and always say a hundred instead of ten. But give them some of their own back, and if they say something of this sort, then be cold and silent, wait patiently for the outcome, and you shall find most of the time that their babble is real babble.⁷⁷

In a later letter he returned to the subject, emphasising the difference between how he had been received in the Low Countries and the treatment he had when he was back in France. He preferred a “country where, thanks to God, I am loved” to a “country where I have once more recently experienced envy in the heart of some to whom, as I do for all men, but wish well and prosperity”.⁷⁸

Plantin remained an outsider in the French book world and often felt the need to get privileges from the French authorities to protect his editions in addition to those he routinely obtained from Philip II or from the Holy Roman Emperor. This was not simply an extra precaution but an important facet of his attempts to develop his French market. In the absence of such protection, French publishers were happy to exploit Plantin's work openly. In a letter to the Cardinal of Granvelle, he deplored the fact that his hard-earned privilege for the new Tridentine catechism was being openly flouted by a number of Parisian printers.⁷⁹ The edition of the Louvain Bible printed by Jean Pillehotte in Lyon in 1585 shows just how brazen this disregard could be. Pillehotte was particularly influential in Catholic Lyon as he was the official printer to the bishopric and to the Jesuits. A new

76 “m'a abusé, comme je vous ay mandé passé longtemps”: Christophe Plantin to Gilles Beys, 30 July 1567. Letter 71, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 153–154.

77 “accroire autres choses que la vérité qui est la coustume de plusieurs, et principalement de ceux qui hantent à Paris, de se vanter beaucoup et dire toujours cent pour dix. Mais usés de reciproque, et s'ils vous disent quelque chose telle, tenés vous froid et coy, attendant l'issue avec patience, et vous trouverez leur babil estre vray babil le plus souvent”: Christophe Plantin to Gilles Beys, 30 July 1567. Letter 71, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 153–154.

78 “païs ou grâces à Dieu je suis aimé” and “pais ou j'ay encores nagueres expérimenté l'envie avoir lieu au cueur de quelques ungs ausquels et a tous hommes je ne désire que bien et prospérité”: Christophe Plantin to Tyard Bissi, 4 October 1577. Letter 778, *Correspondance*, V, pp. 278–279.

79 Christophe Plantin to the Cardinal de Granvelle, 8 August 1567. Letter 342, *Correspondance*, III, pp. 18–19.

edition of the Bible was obviously of great interest to him, but it represented a substantial financial undertaking for which he needed a privilege. But what is extraordinary is that in the privilege that he obtained from the king, it was explicitly mentioned that Pillehotte was going to publish the Bible exactly as it had been printed “à Anvers par Christophle Plantin”.⁸⁰ In other words, the king was sanctioning the unauthorised reprint of one of Plantin’s editions.

To combat such reprints, Plantin had obtained from the French authorities an important privilege in 1582 to protect his works and allow him to print and distribute his books without unfair competition. But such a privilege would have been seen as very restrictive in the eyes of many French booksellers. With this in mind, Plantin named Pierre Poret and Michel Sonnius to defend this important document and to encourage them to “seek out and reach those who transgress the privilege”.⁸¹ However, the Pillehotte case shows the limitations of such official protection. Plantin was fully aware of the commercial difficulties of getting agreements with French publishers. His run in with Lyon printers emanated from precisely such a problem. This encouraged him to act in an underhand way even with those he was close to, such as Michel Sonnius. When Sonnius sought to publish a book, he found himself by-passed by Plantin who set up an exclusive deal with the author and wished to commercialise it in France. As he pithily put it: “this will be for me”. He was aware of the dangers of such tactics, asking his son-in-law to maintain their peace with him as best he could.⁸² Such distrust emphasises just how difficult Plantin’s relationship with the French had become.

Plantin’s reputational success made the situation even more fraught. Perhaps the best proof of his achievements in the “republic of letters” comes from the authors who wished Plantin to take on their work. French authors had numerous high quality publishers situated in either Paris or Lyon who were technically capable of taking on their work and ensuring its distribution. However, a significant number of French authors preferred to send their manuscripts to Antwerp to be published at the Golden Compass. As the author Pierre Daniel put it “you flourish more than any other printer and you will flourish even more, if you continue”.⁸³ This could only further antagonise publishers in Lyon and Paris. French authors who turned to Plantin trusted that he could produce

80 *La sainte Bible* (Lyon, Jean Pillehotte, 1585).

81 “pourschasser et parvenir les contreventeurs du privilege” *Certificatie Boek* of 1582 quoted in *Correspondance*, VII, p. 38.

82 “cela seroit pour moy”: Christophe Plantin to Gilles Beys, [1567]. Letter 98, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 216–219.

83 “vous florissez par-dessuz tous imprimeurs, et florirez encores davantage, si continuez” Pierre Daniel to Christophe Plantin, 20 July 1567. Letter 60, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 136–137.

books of the highest quality and would be able to surpass Parisian standards. Claude Mignault, the translator of Alciato's emblems, made this explicit in his letter to Plantin in 1576. He wrote "I send the emblems printed in Paris so that your hands can see and take note of all the figures, even though I believe that you might already have them. I do not doubt that those that you will have cut will be more attractive".⁸⁴ In his address to the reader Mignault confirmed that he had seen a French edition of good quality "[an edition of] Alciato's *Liber Emblematum* has conveniently fallen into my hands, recently brought from Lyon, and some years earlier one was printed in Paris, which should no less be commended to all scholars".⁸⁵ But Plantin was seen as "the most diligent printer of our time".⁸⁶

Conclusions

Such recognition was flattering, but in the world of Renaissance publishing and bookselling, proof of Plantin's success comes from his sales figures. There was a notable evolution in the quantities and overall value of the books Plantin exported to France over the course of his career. The journals that disclose the commercial activity of the publishing house during most of Plantin's life show that in the late 1560s a typical consignment of books for the French market would contain fewer than 350 florins worth of printed material. By the 1580s this figure had changed radically and the value of the shipments regularly reached 600 florins. Over the calendar year, the value of the trade came to rival (and sometimes exceed) that of the Frankfurt fair. Plantin himself recognised the overwhelming importance of Paris in his overall commercial strategy and his success in becoming one of the central figures of the French book trade. In 1579, he succinctly noted that "the place where our products are most widely distributed is Paris".⁸⁷

84 "Je vous envoye les Emblèmes imprimées à Paris affin que voz ouvriers voyent et remarquent toutes les figures, nonobstant que j'aye opinion que les pouvez desja avoir. Je ne fay point de doubte que celles que ferez tailler ne soient plus-belles": Claude Mignault to Christophe Plantin. 27 July 1576. Letter 733, *Correspondance*, v, pp. 188–189.

85 "commode incidit in manus meas Alciati Liber emblematum, quem recens nobis Lugduno advectum, et aliquot annis ante, Parisiis excusum, noveram a philologis omnibus non minimum commendari". Taken from Mignault's "Lectori studioso et candido" in Andrea Alciati, *Omnia emblemata cum commentariis* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1577), p. 19.

86 "nostra aetate diligentissimus typographus": Ibid., p. 22.

87 "le lieu de la plus grande distribution de nos sortes est Paris" Christophe Plantin to Aldus Manutius and Manassi, 25 June 1579. Letter 830. *Correspondance*, vi, pp. 68–69.

This success, however, did not survive Plantin's death in 1589. The start of the Wars of the Catholic League in France had a very detrimental effect on commerce within France. Paris and Lyon, having both embraced the League, found that their traditional networks for the production and distribution were no longer trustworthy. In provincial towns readers had been "starved of books".⁸⁸ Plantin's successors did try to take advantage of the situation by sending a roving bookseller, Theodore Reinsart, to distribute their output.⁸⁹ But in truth, the attempts were half-hearted, as Reinsart's disillusioned comments in his letters to Jan Moretus demonstrate.⁹⁰ Overall trade with France declined heavily and Jan Moretus lacked the drive to re-establish the former presence of the Plantinian press after peace was formally declared in 1598.⁹¹ By the end of the sixteenth century, it was clear that the connections that had been severed with the wars and the death of Christophe Plantin would never be restored.

88 "Ils estoient affamez de livres": Theodore Reinsart to Jan Moretus, 27 March 1592, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Archives n° 92 p. 305.

89 Denis Pallier, 'La firme plantinienne et le marché français pendant la Ligue: les voyages du libraire Théodore Rinsart en France (1591–1596)', *De Gulden Passer*, LXI–LXIII (1983–1985), pp. 117–135.

90 For instance, in one letter Reinsart commented on not receiving a consignment: "suis fort esbahy et marÿ de ce que ne me les ayez envoyé comme je le vous avoys mande et m'avez fait grand tort d'y avoir faillÿ", Theodore Reinsart to Jan Moretus, 19 June 1592, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Archives n° 92 p. 331.

91 Voet commented that after 1595, "Paris was never again a vital link in the Plantinian distribution network". *Golden Compasses*, II, p. 404.

PART 2

Cultural Transmissions and Political Exchange



Books as a Means of Transcultural Exchange between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans*

Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik

For the author of the so-called *Turcica* catalogue, the first subject catalogue of the imperial library in Vienna, the court librarian Hugo Blotius, the library was “an intellectual arsenal where one could learn the ways and tactics of the enemy”.¹ Furthermore, he considered himself “a humanist quartermaster of an army of scholars formed to fight the Ottomans”.² The catalogue was dedicated and presented to the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612) in the autumn of 1576. This fact and Blotius’ preface to his *Turcica* catalogue show that the imperial library was no sterile institution isolated from the affairs of state.³ It had to reflect the political agenda of its patron, the Emperor himself, as ‘*miles Christi*’ or ‘*defensor Christianitatis*’ – a task that the newly appointed court librarian Blotius clearly understood. He was, however, especially officious: Blotius proposed that the court librarian be made a permanent member of the emperor’s Privy Council in order to provide assistance with fighting the Ottomans on the basis of the books kept in the imperial library.⁴

My analysis of the *Turcica* catalogue and further catalogues compiled by the successor of Blotius, the orientalist Sebastian Tenggengel, however, showed that only one part of the indexed books contained information on the ways and tactics of the Ottomans. Rather, they offer an additional ‘reading’ of the library

* Research for this essay took place within the framework of the project “Transcultural Exchange: The Habsburgs and the Ottomans” founded by the Austrian FWF, project number: T476 – G18.

1 For the catalogue see ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Cod. 12582.; Quoted from Howard Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 75.

2 Quoted from Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise*, p. 75.

3 For this task of early modern libraries see for example Klaus Garber, ‘Paris, die Hauptstadt des europäischen Späthumanismus. Jacques-Auguste de Thou und das Cabinet Dupuy’, in Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedemann (eds.), *Respublica Litteraria. Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 71–92.; For Blotius’ preface to his *Turcica* catalogue see ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Collection for Manuscripts and Rare Books, Cod. 12582, fol. 2r.–v.

4 See Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise*, p. 72.

of the Habsburg Emperors as well as the Habsburg-Ottoman interrelations. Therefore, the hypothesis presented here is that both 'readings', of a library as a mirror of the political-military agenda of its patron and also as a *lieux de mémoire* of transcultural exchange apply to the imperial library of the Ottoman sultans in Constantinople, too.⁵

Nevertheless, until fairly recently research into the interrelations between the Habsburg and the Ottoman empires concentrated primarily on territorial strategies and on political and military conflicts.⁶ Following the tradition of nineteenth-century Orientalist scholarship, the alterity of the Ottoman world was emphasised together with its inferiority in culture and religion. Furthermore, the stereotypical image has been stressed of the Ottoman civilisation as static and averse to the adoption of new (Western/European) ideas and technologies forbidden by religious law.⁷ In that context the religious practice of avoiding the use of any printing press and printing materials and therefore the deliberate absence of the Ottoman territories in the principal networks of exchange in general and in the early modern book world in particular were stressed for a long time.

This essay, however, shows that the two empires did not face each other in an exclusively military confrontation. They shared more cultural values and sociocultural practices than the common Orient-Occident dichotomy suggests, and such shared values and practices co-existed with intense military conflicts.⁸ Their proximity in southeast Europe and in the Mediterranean led to the construction of physical and mental boundaries as well as to the building of cultural bridges – and books do not only represent one of the main

5 For the concept of the *lieux de mémoire* see Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire. La République, la Nation, les France* (Paris, Gallimard, 1997); Ibid, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt am Main, Fischer, 1998).

6 See for instance John Elliott, 'Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry: The European Perspective', in Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (eds.), *Süleyman the Second and his Time* (Istanbul, Isis, 1993), pp. 153–162; Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe* (Leiden, Brill, 2000).

7 See for instance: Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1991); Bernard Lewis, *What went wrong? The Clash between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2002); Ibid, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York et al, Norton, 2001).

8 A similar point might be made about cultural interaction in late medieval Spain between Christian and Muslim (and Jewish) cultures, the so-called *convivencia*. It took also place at a time of intense conflict combined with 'cultural harmony'. For more detail see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1996).

means of this bridging but they document them, too. A further hypothesis is that the Reformation and the various migration and mobility processes actually stimulated cultural interaction between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires. In that context the paper emphasises the role of transcultural intermediaries who became instrumental in bridging, and initiated transcultural interplay between the two empires.⁹ They embody the porosity of physical and political borders as well as linguistic and religious boundaries (*hudud*).¹⁰ These polyglot individuals or groups who lived as temporal or permanent immigrants in either empire acted in a 'third space'.¹¹ Due to their in-between position they knew the endogenous codes both of the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires. Simultaneously, they were, however, able to interpret and use the respective exogenous elements as well.¹² These skills in 'translating cultures' and the knowledge of communication practices via the handwritten and printed media of both sides were in demand to a high degree in both empires in the early modern period – and they were essential for transcultural exchange via books, too.

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- 9 These intermediaries included renegades, scribes, diplomats, merchants, dragomans, Protestant migrants and clergymen, Jews and refugees. See for instance the example of Ibrahim Müteferrika who was the founder of the first Ottoman printing press: Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, 'Ibrahim Müteferrika als transkultureller Vermittler im Osmanischen Reich', in Arno Strohmeyer and Norbert Spannenberger (eds.), *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen. Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), pp. 283–308.; Ibid, 'The Visual in Transcultural Exchange: Emblems, Propaganda, and the Ottomans', in Sabine Mördersheim and Christine McCall Probes (eds.), *The Art of Persuasion: Emblems and Propaganda* (Glasgow, Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2014), pp. 117–135.
 - 10 The Ottoman term *hudud* included many of the same variations of meanings as the English terms 'borders' and 'boundaries'. See Palmira Brummet, 'Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space, from World History to Piri Reis', in Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (eds.), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 24. Brummet emphasises that "Despite the use of such physical markers to divide territory and fix the limits of sovereign privilege, there is no simple line around the Ottoman Empire that divides it from 'Europe' or 'Christendom'". Brummet, 'Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space', p. 26.
 - 11 See Homi K. Bhabha, 'The Third Space. Interview with Homi Bhabha', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference* (London, Laurence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 207–221.; Britta Kalscheuer, 'Encounters in the Third Space. Links between Intercultural Communication Theories and Postcolonial Approaches', in Karin Ikaas and Gerhard Wagner (eds.), *Communicating in the Third Space* (London, Routledge, 2009), pp. 26–46.
 - 12 See the concept of Moritz Csáky, 'Pluralität. Bemerkungen zum dichten System der zentraleuropäischen Region', *Neohelicon*, 23 (1996), pp. 9–30.

According to the concept of the philosopher and sociologist Georg Simmel, 'exchange' in this paper represents a two-sided, creative process of transformation in addition to the processes of giving and receiving. The reciprocal effects of exchange in human interaction – what Simmel emphasized – were possible from the Ottoman side because the Ottoman Empire did not resist all forms of Western innovation of early modern communication.¹³ As with the case of the adoption of firearms technology, the adoption or rejection of new European communication practices via handwritten and print media had little to do with Islam.¹⁴ Rather, it was a pragmatic decision influenced by political and military objectives as well as social and economic factors.¹⁵

Transcultural Exchange via Books: The Imperial Library in Constantinople as a *lieux de mémoire* of Exchange

The imperial library of the Ottoman dynasty provides clear evidence of this pragmatism. It was created soon after the capture of Constantinople in 1453 as a part of the imperial project of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481). The deliberate negotiation of western and eastern cultural horizons, the creation of a polyglot ruling elite (with converted Christian-born individuals in the highest posts), the adoption of the Renaissance (Italian) pictorial language for self-representation and Mehmed II's patronage of Renaissance Italian artists, architects and humanist intellectuals laid the basis for transcultural exchange processes in the sixteenth century.¹⁶ A great number of scientific books in various languages

13 For the concept of Simmel see Georg Simmel, 'Exchange', in Donald N. Levine (ed.), *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1971), pp. 43–69.

14 For more detail regarding the adoption of firearms technology in the Ottoman Empire see for instance, Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan. Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 7–13.

15 On this phenomenon concerning translations from European languages into Ottoman-Turkish see Feza Günergun, 'Ottoman Encounters with European Science: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Translations into Turkish', in Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 192.

16 For more detail concerning the imperial project of Sultan Mehmed II and for the ongoing exchange with Italy see Gülru Necipoğlu, 'From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Konstantiniyye: Creation of a Cosmopolitan Capital and Visual Culture under Mehmed II', in *From Byzantium to Istanbul. 8000 Years of a Capital*, June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul (Istanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), pp. 263–276.; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision and*

in the fields of geography, history, philosophy and medicine reached the palace library in this period through the international network of Greek humanists and Italian merchants affiliated with the Ottoman court.¹⁷ Mehmed's personal interest in these books underlines the fact that he was being trained by two Italian tutors in Greek and Latin.¹⁸

The Beginnings of Habsburg-Ottoman Exchange: Sephardic Jews and Their Networks

Transcultural exchange processes with the territories of the Habsburg dynasty started in the first two decades of the sixteenth century and intensified from the mid-sixteenth century on. For the exchange with the territories of the Spanish Habsburgs in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Low Countries, Sephardic Jews and their commercial networks were of great importance.¹⁹ Many of them had been educated in European universities, mostly in Padua, and brought their libraries with them when they settled in the Ottoman Empire.²⁰ One has also to refer to their translations and compilations from European printed books into Ottoman Turkish. They were, however, crucial as printers, booksellers, bookbinders and collectors of manuscripts and printed books as well.²¹

the Construction of the Ottoman Capital (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Julian Raby, 'The Serenissima and the Sublime Porte: Art in the Art Diplomacy, 1453–1600', in Stefano Carboni (ed.), *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 90–119.

- 17 Julian Raby, 'Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album', *Islamic Art*, 1 (1981), pp. 44–46; Ibid., 'A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts', *Oxford Arts Journal*, 1 (1982), pp. 3–8; Günsel Renda, 'Europe and the Ottomans: Interactions in Art', in Halil Inalcik & Günsel Renda (eds.), *Ottoman civilisation* (Ankara, Ministry of Culture, 2003), pp. 1048–1089.
- 18 Necipoğlu, 'From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Konstantiniyye', p. 265.
- 19 Mark Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish Communities and their Role in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Freiburg, Schwarz, 1980); Avigdor Levy, 'Introduction', in Ibid. (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton NJ, The Darwin Press, 1994), pp. 1–41.
- 20 Günergün, 'Ottoman Encounters with European Science', pp. 198–199.
- 21 For more detail see Yaron Ben Na'eh, 'Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire', in Gad Nassi (ed.), *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Istanbul, Isis Press, 2001); Amnon Cohen, *Jewish Life under Islam. Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 179–182. In that context one has also to refer to the public libraries in Salonica as well as to the library of the most prominent and influential figure of Ottoman Jewry, Joseph Nasi (c. 1524–1579) that was attached to his mansion. See Levy, 'Introduction', p. 33, 37.

Moses Hamon (c. 1490–1554), the Granada-born physician and political advisor of Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566), for example, translated not only books into Ottoman Turkish but composed a treatise on dentistry in Ottoman Turkish that was published anonymously at almost the same time as the first book on the subject in the 1530s.²² In addition to printed books, his library contained a very valuable collection of manuscripts that included the famous Dioscurides codex, the sixth-century copy of Dioscurides' *Materia medica*.²³ It was Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, permanent Habsburg envoy in Istanbul between 1554 and 1562, and later main supporter of Hugo Blotius in his application for the job as a court librarian in Vienna in 1575, who found out about the existence of this copy in the library of the Hamon family.²⁴ He tried to purchase it from the son of Moses Hamon, Joseph, for his own library in the early 1560s.²⁵ This attempt in 1562, however, failed because Busbecq could not meet the asking price of 100 Gulden – as delineated in his famous *Turkish Letters* published in

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- 22 This learned man and medical scholar also encouraged and supported the printing of several Hebrew works as well as of a Judeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch in Constantinople in 1546. See Cengiz Şişman, 'Moses Hamon', in Norman A. Stillman et al (eds.), *Brill Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Vol. 2 (Leiden, Brill, 2010), p. 353; Uriel Heyd, 'Moses Hamon, Chief Physician to Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent', *Oriens*, 16 (1963), pp. 152–170; Arslan Terzioğlu (ed.), *Moses Hamons Kompendium der Zahnheilkunde aus dem Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, Selbstverlag, 1977).
- 23 Gül A. Russel, 'Physicians at the Ottoman Court', *Medical History*, 34 (1990), p. 257. The book was a gift presented to the *patriarka* Juliana Anicia, daughter of the emperor Olybrius and a member of the venerable Roman Anicius family. She was probably both the most aristocratic and the wealthiest inhabitant of the Byzantine capital that time. For more details see Leslie Brubaker, 'The Vienna Dioskorides and Anicia Juliana', in Antony Littlewood, Henry Maguire and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *Byzantine Garden Culture* (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), pp. 189–190.
- 24 In his letter of recommendation from 7 June 1575 addressed to the Emperor Maximilian II Busbecq compared the profession of a librarian with the responsibilities of a tutor for pupils: "I know de Blot to be the both a good scholar and an honest man; there are however, two people who will be able to give most positive testimony as to his character – Bishop Liszti and Lazarus Schwendi, for they both selected him to take care of their boys – he was their tutor for several years in Italy – and if they judged him fit to take care of their boys (*liberos*) I conclude he is quite fit to take care of your Mayesty's books (*libros*).” Charles Thornton Foster and Francis Henry Blackburne Daniell (eds.), *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Seigneur of Busbecque Knight. Imperial Ambassador*. Vol. II (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 75–76.
- 25 Joseph Hamon (d. 1577) served also as physician and political advisor to the Ottoman court. See Şişman, 'Moses Hamon', p. 353; Levy, 'Introduction', p. 31.

several Latin and German editions already in the 1580s and 1590s.²⁶ Nevertheless, in 1569 due to his intermediation and the assistance of the current Habsburg envoy, Albert de Wijs (1562–1569 in Constantinople) the later so-called *Vienna Dioscurides* manuscript could be purchased for the imperial library of the Habsburg dynasty.²⁷ This manuscript, its copies and translations served in many cases as a basis for printed books on medical herbs and pharmacology published in the territories of the Habsburgs in the late sixteenth and in the seventeenth century.

Transcultural Intermediaries as Agents of Exchange

Busbecq represents one of the main groups of the above mentioned transcultural intermediaries who – as temporary or permanent migrants in the Ottoman Empire – initiated transcultural interplay between the Ottomans and the Austrian Habsburgs: the Habsburg envoys in Istanbul. The second group consisted of further members of the Habsburg embassy in the Ottoman capital such as secretaries, physicians and Protestant humanist scholars. The third group was made up of renegades as Ottoman diplomats and/or interpreters at the Ottoman court who converted by free will or were forced to follow Islam but did not completely lose their former identity and connections. The following examples show how members of these groups acted as transcultural intermediaries of books in the second half of the sixteenth and in the first two decades of the seventeenth century and in doing so, how they co-operated with each other. In that context it is important to mention that they had in common that they were all educated according to the humanist tradition at Dutch, German and Italian universities where they became skilled in Renaissance book culture as well.

26 “I should like to have bought it, but the price frightened me; for a hundred ducats was named, a sum which would suit the Emperor’s purse better than mine.” Edward Seymour Forster (ed.), *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin Busbecq* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2005), p. 243.

27 The manuscript is still held in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. See ÖNB, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Cod. Vindob. Med. gr. 1. The *Vienna Dioscurides* is the earliest preserved copy of Dioscurides with pictures of plants and birds. It is a compendium of texts that deal with healing, and more generally, natural history. The manuscript was inscribed on Unesco’s Memory of the World Programme Register in 1997 in recognition of its historical significance: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-9/vienna-dioscurides/#c191834> (03. 03. 2014).

Habsburg envoys did not only purchase manuscripts and books in the bookshops of Istanbul for their own libraries which later became part of the imperial library in Vienna. Their correspondence with the court administration in Vienna shows that they also received 'orders' from court employees such as from the humanist and art collector Jacopo Strada who became court antiquarian in 1564.²⁸ The imperial envoy Albert de Wijs, for instance, informed Emperor Maximilian II in a letter from 1 September 1569 that he had sent three "Turkish" dictionaries to the antiquarian Jacopo Strada through the courier Daniel Meurl.²⁹ They were required for Strada's new book-project: he planned to produce and publish a voluminous dictionary of European and Middle Eastern languages. His efforts to compile this eleven-language dictionary were strongly supported by Francesco I de' Medici as well as by Emperor Maximilian II.³⁰ In the early 1570s Strada asked the Emperor for his and his envoy's assistance to find Ottoman subjects for the translation of his headwords and dictionary entries into Ottoman-Turkish, Arabic and Persian.³¹ Strada's son, Paolo, however, was a member of an

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- 28 Jacopo Strada was born in Mantua in the early part of the sixteenth century. After his artistic training and education in Rome he moved to Bavaria where his first important patron was the Augsburg patrician Hans Jakob Fugger. In 1556 Strada began to work for the younger son of Emperor Ferdinand I and was appointed architect of the imperial court in 1560 and court antiquarian in 1564. For more detail see Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise*, pp. 5–6.
- 29 In addition to these three 'Turkish' dictionaries Meurl transported also a letter from Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574) to the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II (r. 1564–1576) as well as other commodities such as a small box including a bezoar. See Albert de Wyss to Maximilian II, Constantinople, 1 September 1569, ÖStA, HHStA, Türkei I., Karton 25, Konv. 3, 1569 V–IX., fol. 119–124.
- 30 Jacopo Strada had worked for forty years on the compilation of this dictionary. In a letter from Strada to Francesco I de' Medici from 4 October 1577, it is mentioned that the dictionary included the following languages: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Ottoman-Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Spanish, French, German and Italian. See Christopher Pastore, 'Bipolare behavior: Ferdinando I de' Medici and the East', in James G. Harper (ed.), *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imaginary before Orientalism* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), p. 150, footnote 47. Strada's dictionary and his overall effort were also discussed in a letter from Francesco I de' Medici to Emperor Maximilian II from June 1576. Both letters are published in Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelá, *Collezionismo Mediceo: Cosimo I, Francesco I e il Cardinale Ferdinando* (Modena, Franco Cosimo Pannini, 1993).
- 31 See his supplications to Emperor Maximilian II in 1571 regarding this request: ÖStA, HHStA, Turcica, Türkei I., Karton 28, Konv. 2, 1571 s.d., fol. 126–127, 128–129. Concerning the translations in Constantinople see also: Carolus Rym (Habsburg envoy) to Maximilian II. Constantinople, 14 August 1572, ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Karton 28. Konv. 5. 1572. VII–X., fol. 51–64.

imperial embassy in the Ottoman capital in the late 1560s. Here, he gathered not only drawings of the city's antiquities for his father but – similar to the Habsburg envoys – a number of Arabic texts ranging from the Koran to astrological treatises for his father's library.³²

Furthermore, Habsburg envoys in Constantinople assisted, for example, the Ottoman diplomats and interpreters Mahmud alias Sebold von Pribach from Vienna and Murad alias Balázs Somlyai from Baia Mare (Nagybánya) in Transylvania to order printed books and maps from the Habsburg territories on a regular basis: in 1573 *tercüman* Mahmud, for example, ordered two copies of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from Vienna.³³ David Ungnad, Habsburg permanent envoy in Constantinople (1573–1578), asked the emperor to issue an order to purchase these books for Mahmud. Concerning that transaction Wolf Sinnich, member of the Habsburg permanent embassy in the Ottoman capital, wrote the following in a letter from 22 January 1574 to the head of the Hofkammer in Vienna: “two Teatrum orbis depicting all kind of landscapes and islands...in print, all of them coloured are requested to be purchased and sent with the upcoming present to Constantinople.”³⁴ Mahmud's

32 Due to these drawings his father was familiar with the art and architecture of the Ottoman capital. This is the reason why the so-called “Neugebäude”, a summer palace of Maximilian II designed by Jacopo Strada incorporates not only elements of Italian, French and Spanish but Islamic architecture as well. See Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise*, pp. 45–51. The correspondence of Jacopo Strada with the Grand Duke of Tuscany shows that he wished to send some of these Arabic texts purchased in the Ottoman Empire to Francesco de Medici. Pastore, ‘Bipolare behavior’, p. 144.

33 Mahmud was born in Vienna as the son of the Jewish merchant Jacob von Pribach. So, he must have been familiar with European books and with the European book market before his conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire. For more detail see Ernst Dieter Petritsch, ‘Der habsburg-osmanischer Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547’, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 38 (1985), pp. 60–61. Between 1570 and mid-1573 he was imprisoned in Venice where he had negotiated as an Ottoman diplomat at the beginning of the Ottoman-Venetian war, before the Ottoman capture of Cyprus from Venice in 1571. He ordered Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* after his arrival in the Ottoman capital in the summer of 1573 when he was appointed chief interpreter at the Ottoman court. Therefore, we can assume that he had learned about this publication in Venice. This fact would explain why this renegade penman was so surprisingly up to date, since Ortelius' mapbook was first published in 1570. However, his order through the Habsburg envoy indicates that he consciously avoided an exchange with the Venetian book market. For Mahmud's diplomatic mission to Venice and his arrest there see Petritsch, ‘Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag’, pp. 65–66.

34 “[...] zwey Teatrum orbis, darinen allerley Landschafften und insulen [...] gedruckt, die auch alle mit farben ausgestrichen seyen erkaufft und mit nechster present nach

colleague, the Transylvanian renegade and former student of Protestant theology Murad in 1556 explicitly asked the Habsburg administration to send no other gifts to him than printed books.³⁵ Similar to the aforementioned activities of Moses Hamon, Mahmud and Murad translated many of these books from Latin, German and Hungarian into Ottoman Turkish.³⁶ In addition to that, they used them for their own historical and theological works compiled in Ottoman Turkish.³⁷ In doing so, they produced hybrid, respectively syncretic

Constantinopel geschikht werden." See ÖStA, HHStA, Türkei 1. Karton 30. Konv. 1. 1574 1–111, fol. 29.

- 35 See Pál Ács, 'Tarjumans Mahmud and Murad. Austrian and Hungarian Renegades as Sultan's Interpreters', in Bodo Guthmüller & Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance* (Tübingen, De Gruyter, 2000), p. 315.
- 36 In addition, Murad translated among others Cicero's *De senectute* into Ottoman Turkish. For more detail see Franz Babinger, 'Der Pfortendolmetsch Murād und seine Schriften', in Franz Babinger, Robert Gagger, Eugen Mittwoch and Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann (eds.), *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit* (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1927), pp. 33–54.
- 37 Mahmud was the author of an Ottoman chronicle titled *Tārīḥ-i Ungurus* (History of the Hungarians) kept in the Oriental Collection at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Science in Budapest. By compiling this work he most likely used a printed copy of the late fifteenth-century chronicle of János Thúröczy (c. 1435–1490). Since the manuscript of Thúröczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* is deemed to be lost we can assume that Mahmud used one of the printed copies which joined a great popularity in the sixteenth century and were reprinted several times. The *kitab* (book) that Mahmud studied in Székesfehérvár (in Ottoman Hungary) in 1543 and which might have inspired him for writing his *Tārīḥ-i Ungurus* was probably one of these copies. He seemed, however, also to have used Marcus Junianus Justinus' *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* and to know the Anatolian tradition of the Alexander legend. This explains why his hybrid work is subtitled *Iskendernâme*. For more detail see György Hazai (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Ungarn in einer osmanischen Chronik des 16. Jahrhunderts: Tercüman Maḥmûds Tārīḥ-i Ungurus* (Edition der Handschrift der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften) (Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2009), pp. 9–33; Tijana Krstić, 'Of Translation and Empire', in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (London and New York, Routledge, 2012), p. 134. The Transylvanian renegade and former Unitarian Christ Murad composed a self-narrative in Ottoman Turkish in 1556/1557 in order to describe his conversion to Islam. It is titled *Kitāb tesvīyetü't-teveccüh ilā'l hak* (*The Guide for One's Turning toward Truth*). In this self-narrative of conversion this former student of Protestant theology mixed the elements and arguments of Protestant and Muslim theological texts and he saw himself as a bridge between the two religions. Between 1566 and 1569 he translated it into Latin in order to reach a broader audience outside of the Ottoman Empire. A partial copy of this manuscript is kept in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. The complete copy, however, is to be found in the British Library. For more detail, see Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of*

texts as a result of the transcultural exchange processes in which they were involved.

Murad, however, was aware of the importance and function of emblems and emblem books as well. The bilingual edition of Andrea Alciato's *Liber Emblematum* kept in the University Library in Heidelberg contains a trilingual (Hungarian, Latin and Ottoman Turkish, the latter with Latin and Arabic letters) entry from Murad referring to the following sentence in Cicero's *De amicitia*: "Some men are better served by their bitter-tongued enemies than by their sweet-smiling friends."³⁸

This emblem book served as an *album amicorum* of the Flemish humanist physician and poet Arnold Manlius who was a member of the permanent Habsburg embassy in the Ottoman capital in the early 1570s.³⁹ The former

Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 110–113; Pál Ács, 'Murád dragoman (Somlyai Balázs)', in Ibid. (ed.), *Régi magyar költők tára*. 11. kötet (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó – Orex Kiadó, 1999), pp. 424–428.

- 38 Murad's original entries are the following: "Sokkal jobb az ellenség az olyan barátodnál akki te veled nem egyet erez"; "Inimicus multo prestancior est quam amicus qui tecum vna non senciati"; "Dusmen ol dosztiden delym jegdür ki hemderd olmaia." Andrea Alciato, *Liber emblematum: Nunc Denovo Collatis Exemplaribus, multo castigatior quam antehac editus/durch Jeremiam Held von Nördlingen, mit schönen, lieblichen, neuwem, kunstreichen Figuren geziert vnd gebessert* (Frankfurt am Mayn, Fevabend & Hüter, 1566 [erschienen] 1567). Heid. Hs. 487, f. 30r–v. The transliteration of the Ottoman Turkish text with Arabic letters: "Düşmen ol dostdan delim yegdür ki hemderd olmaya". Quoted from the facsimile publication of the original sentences in the appendix of the following article: Pál Ács, 'Bécsi és magyar renegátok mint szultáni tolmácsok', in Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy and István György Tóth (eds.), *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére* (Budapest, MTA TKI Gazdaság- és Társadalomtörténeti Kutatócsoportja, 2002), pp. 24, 26.; The English translation is quoted from Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia* (published in the Loeb Classical Library 1923). http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/Laelius_de_Amicitia/text*.html (31. 07. 2015).

- 39 György Gömöry and Pál Ács refer in their publications to this *album amicorum* of Arnold Manlius and to the entry of Murad. Ács also notes that it concerns 'Alciati's Emblemata (Frankfurt am Main, 1566)'. However, they do not pay attention either to the particular emblem (with its motto, text and illustration) or to the main characteristics of this emblem book itself. See: Ács, 'Bécsi és magyar renegátok', p. 16, footnote 10, p. 18.; György Gömöri, "'Barátok albuma' – jegyzetek egy művelődéstörténeti forrás történetéhez', *Holmi*, XVII.2 (2005 február), p. 200. This might be the reason why it is not mentioned that this *album amicorum* of Manlius concerns the bilingual edition of Andrea Alciato's *Liber Emblematum/Kunstabuch* including Jeremias Held's translation produced by Sigismund Fevabend, dated 1566 on the title page, but 1567 in the colophon. For more information see: <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A67a044> (12 February 2014). The Lutheran priest of the Habsburg embassy, Stephan Gerlach mentions in his

Protestant student of theology, Murad dated his entry to the emblem with the bilingual motto “Obdurandum aduersus vrgentia”/“Man sol dem bösen ein widerstandt thun”⁴⁰ as follows: “In Constantinople in the month of May in the year of the Virgin Birth 1571 and of Prophet Mohamed 978.”⁴¹ Murad’s entry in this emblem book documents that he was not only aware of the emblem tradition of Renaissance book culture but he actively participated in the networks of exchange of the *respublica litteraria*, and, as Manlius’ emblem book shows, he was considered an integrated part of that world.

A Transcultural Enterprise Creating a European Bestseller

In addition, Murad made a major contribution to the creation of a bestseller in the European book market. In the early 1580s he translated an anonymous Ottoman chronicle into Latin, or most likely compiled a Latin manuscript on the basis of Ottoman sources for Philipp Haniwald von Eckersdorf, who was a member of the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople at that time.⁴² The

diary that Murad visited the house of the Habsburg envoy in Istanbul on regular basis where he met Arnold Manlius. See: *Stephan Gerlachs dess Aeltern Tage-Buch [...] an die Ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch [...] David Ungnad [...] glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaft, auss denen Gerlachtschen, zeit seiner hierbey bedienten [...] eygenhändig aufgesetzten und nachgelassenen Schrifften, herfür gegeben durch seinen Enckel M. Samuelem Gerlachium [...] mit einer Vorrede, Herrn Tobiae Wagneri [...]* (Franckfurth am Mayn, in Verlegung Johann David Zunners, getruckt bey Heinrich Friesen, 1674), pp. 29, 244. OSZK (National Széchényi Library, Budapest), 52.421. Manlius had already served the former Habsburg envoy Carl Rijm de Estebeck (1570–1573) as his physician. See Ralf C. Müller, *Franken im Osten. Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten* (Leipzig, Eudora-Verlag, 2005), p. 226.

40 The English translation of the motto in Latin: “Stand firm against pressure.” See: <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A67a044> (12 February 2014). It might have been no coincidence that Murad chose this emblem and his trilingual entry (see footnote 38) is to be understood in the context of this bilingual emblem.

41 “In constantinopoli mense maio anno virginei partus 1571 anno prophete muhamedi 978”. Quoted from: Ács, ‘Bécsi és magyar renegátok’, p. 24.

42 Very little is known about this Silesian nobleman who lived in the Ottoman capital for several years. He was most likely a member of the Habsburg embassy in the 1580s. However, his position in the embassy is still not quite clear. József Thúry stated that he was the secretary of the embassy. According to Joseph Hammer-Purgstall he held this position during the permanent embassy of Johann von Breuner (1580–1584), according to Richard F. Kreutel he was the secretary of Paul Freiherr von Eitzing (1584–1587) – and

Protestant humanist Johannes Löwenklau, however, used Murad's work as a main source for his history of the Ottoman Empire published in the centre of the European book trade, Frankfurt am Main in the famous Wechel press at the beginning of the 1590s (German edition in 1590, Latin edition in 1591).⁴³ Both editions became part of the imperial library in Vienna and due to their popularity found their way into many other imperial and private libraries across Europe.⁴⁴

probably both are right. József Thúry, *Török történetirók*. vol. 1. (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1893), p. 31.; Joseph von Hammer, 'Bibliographisch, kritische Uebersicht der in Europa über osmanische Geschichte erschienen Werke', *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst*, Jg. 16. Freytag 4 March (1825), p. 144.; Richard F. Kreutel (ed.), *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481–1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus* (Graz et al, Styria, 1978), p. 182. The literary historian Pál Ács, nevertheless, emphasises that Philipp Haniwald von Eckersdorf was a councillor of Archduke Ernst and suggests that Thúry confused him with another member of the Haniwald-family, Bartholomäus Hanniwald who hold the post of secretary of the Habsburg embassy in the Ottoman capital a decade earlier in 1570. See Pál Ács, 'Pro Turcis and contra Turcas. Curiosity, Scholarship and Spiritualism in Turkish Histories by Johannes Löwenklau (1541–1594)', *Acta Comeniana*, 25 (2011), p. 12, footnote 45. Philipp Haniwald was a brother of Bartholomäus and according to Johannes Löwenklau he was a courtier ("Hofdiener" – and not a councillor) of Archduke Ernst and "[...] zu Constantinopol/da er etlich Jar ansehnlich gelebt/[...]" Johannes Löwenklau, *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation/von Türcken selbs beschrieben* [...] (Frankfurt am Mayn, bey Andres Wechels seligen Erben nemlich Claudi de Marne vnd Johan Aubri, 1590). ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Sign. 31. Aa. 37, p. 8.

43 This humanist scholar from Westphalia studied at the universities of Wittenberg, Heidelberg and Basel and was well connected with important members of the *respublica litteraria* of that time. One of his main patrons was Lazarus Schwendi who belonged to the irenic circle at the court of Emperor Maximilian II in Vienna – as did Hugo Blotius and Jacopo Strada. Before the 1580s Löwenklau edited various Greek and Latin texts including works by Xenophon and Bonfini. For more detail see Franz Babinger, 'Herkunft und Jugend Hans Löwenklau's', *Westfälische Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 48–49 (1949), pp. 112–127.

44 Löwenklau, *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation* (see footnote 42).; Johannes Leunclavius, *Historia Mysvlmanae Tyrcorum, de Monumentis ipsorum exscriptae* [...] (Francofurti, Apud heredes Andrae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium Ioann. Aubrium, 1591). ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Bildarchiv und Graphiksammlung, Sign. 263907-D. In addition to Western European libraries both editions are to be found, for example, in the Bibliotheca Craesseliana, the library of Johannes Krösel who was chaplain and court librarian of Archduke Ferdinand II of Inner-Austria in Graz. This shows that the book of the Protestant humanist Löwenklau which was based on the manuscript of an Ottoman subject was known and read in Catholic, counter-reformatory circles as well. After Krösel's death his

But how did a humanist from Westphalia gain access to Murad's manuscript? Löwenklau accompanied the Habsburg envoy extraordinary Heinrich von Lichtenstein to the Ottoman capital in 1584 where he met Philipp Haniwald von Eckersdorf and through him Murad as well.⁴⁵ Haniwald endeavoured to persuade Murad – as Löwenklau explains – “with daily gifts” to make him the grant favour and compile a work in Latin from “Turkish histories”.⁴⁶ The result, Murad's manuscript was later called after its initiator *Codex Hanivaldanus*.⁴⁷ Löwenklau states that it was the initiator, Haniwald, who lent it him “in outstanding kindly and brotherly confidence”.⁴⁸ Through this the European public gained, for the first time, access in Latin translation to the work *Cihān-nümā* (View of the World) of the famous Ottoman historian Neşrī (d. before 1520). It chronicles events of Ottoman history down to 1485 and was dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II (1480–1512).⁴⁹

library became part of the library of the Jesuit's university in Graz and is kept now in the Collection of Rare Books at the University Library in Graz (Sign. II 15150).

- 45 Heinrich von Lichtenstein was sent by Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612) as an extraordinary envoy to Constantinople in order to deliver the annual taxes (the so-called 'Ehrengeschenk' in the vocabulary of the Habsburg administration) for Sultan Murad III (1574–1595). He died, however, on 16 April 1585 on the way back in Gallipoli where he is buried in a Greek-Orthodox church. See Karl Teply (ed.), *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn* (Stuttgart, Steingrüben, 1968), p. 32. At that time Murad had already been dismissed from the service of the Ottoman court as a result of his “immoderate enjoyment of wine”. See Babinger, 'Pfortendolmetsch Murad', p. 39. The correspondence of the permanent imperial envoy in Istanbul, Paul Freiherr von Eitzing, with the Habsburg administration, however, shows that in the mid-1580s Murad received a salary from the Habsburg envoy: On 28 February 1584, for example, 18 Taler, on 31 January 1585, 30 Taler, or on 2 January 1587, 5 Taler. He seems to have been the language tutor for particular members of the embassy. For more detail see “Verzeichnuß dessen was Paul Freiherr von Eitzing [...]”, HHStA, Turcica, Türkei I, Karton 51, Konv. 1, fol. 262r. “Particular verzeichnus der extraordinary ausgaben [...]”, HHStA, Turcica, Türkei I, Karton 54, Konv. 3, fol. 157r; “Verzeichnus vnd hernach folgt [...] extraordinary ausgeben hat”, HHStA, Turcica, Türkei I, Karton 59, Konv. 1, fol. 152v.
- 46 “Dann er zu Constantinopol/da er etlich Jar ansehenlich gelebt/den Murat Begen/[...]/ mit täglichen Geschencken dahin bewegt: daß er ihm zu gefallen außerlesene Sachen auß der Türkischen Historien abgeschrieben/vertiert/vnd mitgeteilt.” See Löwenklau, *Neuwe Chronica Türkischer nation*, p. 8.
- 47 Victor Louis Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans: the Sources and Development of the Text* (London et al, Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 31–40.
- 48 “auß sonderm freundtlichen Brüderlichem vertrauwen” See Löwenklau, *Neuwe Chronica Türkischer nation*, p. 8.
- 49 It offers also a list of the principal viziers and holy men of the Ottoman period concerned as well as sections about the Oghuz Turks and the Seljuks of Rum. Neşrī probably completed

Murad, however, seemed to still have access to the imperial library or perhaps other libraries in Istanbul, with Neşrî's *Cihān-nümā* and another part of the *Codex Hanivaldanus* showing how up-to-date he was. This part is based on the work of a contemporary of Murad, Haniwald and Löwenklau, on Hoca Sa'd al-Din's (1536–1599) *Tāc al-tawārikh* (The Crown of Histories).⁵⁰ It deals with the history of the Ottomans from their beginnings to the death of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520) in 1520. Its author, an Ottoman statesman and trusted adviser at the Ottoman court with remarkable political influence in domestic and foreign affairs, dedicated his historical work to Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595) in 1575 – only nine years before the Protestant humanist Johannes Löwenklau arrived in Constantinople in 1584.⁵¹

Back in Vienna, however, Löwenklau conducted additional research in the imperial library and in private libraries.⁵² Due to this library-work the German and Latin editions of Löwenklau's books document transcultural exchange processes between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in multiple ways, and in doing so, they underline the role of the library as a *lieux de mémoire* of transcultural exchange as well. As a result of this additional research in Vienna, Löwenklau's books rely – among others – also on two further Ottoman manuscripts.⁵³ These texts were originally brought from Constantinople to Vienna by the Austrian humanist scholar, art collector and politician Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf and the Dalmatian-Hungarian humanist and permanent Habsburg envoy in the Ottoman capital between 1553 and 1557, Anton Verančić (Antal Verancsics) in the 1550s.⁵⁴

his work between 1487 and February 1493, wrote it in Ottoman prose style and amalgamated different Ottoman historiographical traditions. It influenced, however, many Ottoman historians in the following centuries. For more detail see Christine Woodhead, 'Neshrî', in Clifford Edmund Bosworth et al (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Islam* Vol. VIII. (Leiden, Brill 1995), pp. 7–8.; Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1927), pp. 38–39.

50 This carefully written history in Ottoman prose style is based on critical examination of a number of named sources. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, pp. 125–126.; Barbara Flemming, 'Khōdja Efendi', in Clifford Edmund Bosworth et al (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Islam* Vol. v. (Leiden, Brill 1995), p. 28; Ács, 'Pro Turcis and contra Turcas', p. 13.

51 For more detail see Flemming, 'Khōdja Efendi', pp. 27–28.

52 Ács, 'Pro Turcis and contra Turcas', p. 4.

53 As he states he used also several books published in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German and Hungarian as well as further Latin manuscripts by compiling both editions. He also purchased several manuscripts in the Ottoman capital and brought to Vienna and used, for example, the manuscripts of Eduardo Provisionali who was one of the secretaries of the Habsburg embassy in the 1570s.

54 Verančić was an important member of *respublica litteraria* and corresponded, for example, also with Erasmus and Melanchthon and was in touch with Ogier Ghiselin Busbecq

These Ottoman manuscripts represent two versions of Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Meḥmed's (d. 1550) chronicle titled *Ta'rīkh-i āl-i 'Oṯmān* (History of Dynasty of the Ottomans). The author, who was an Ottoman historian and religious scholar under the reign of Selim I (r. 1512–1520) and Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566) and was also called Molla Çelebi, edited anonymous Ottoman chronicles which run from the beginning of the history of the Ottoman Empire and continued them to 1549.⁵⁵ Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf brought a copy of the shorter version of the manuscript shortly after its author completed it, together with other valuable manuscripts, from the Ottoman capital to Vienna for his own library in 1551. Later, he donated it to the library of Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1556–1564) who ordered its translation into German by the first interpreter for Ottoman Turkish at the imperial court, Hans Gaudier, called Spiegel.⁵⁶ Johannes Löwenklau, however, used – as he states in his *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation* – this translation “conferred with the Turkish copy” for the German edition of his book (1590).⁵⁷

For the Latin edition (1591), however, he preferred the longer version of Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Meḥmed's *Ta'rīkh-i āl-i 'Oṯmān*. Löwenklau gained access to that through the nephew of one of the former Habsburg envoys in Constantinople, the humanist scholar Faustus Vrančić (Verancsics) who held the position of the Hungarian secretary to the Emperor that time. He allowed Löwenklau to

as well. After his return from Constantinople, he was appointed archbishop of Esztergom (in Hungary) and compiled also several historical works. For more detail see Éva Gyulai, 'Egy közép-európai tudós portréjához: Verancsics-ikonográfia', in Gábor Czoch, Gergely Krisztián Horváth and Péter Pozsgai (eds.), *Parasztok és polgárok. Tanulmányok Tóth Zoltán 65. születésnapjára* (Budapest, Korall Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület, 2008), pp. 162–186. For more detail regarding Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf see Margarethe Beck, *Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf (1525–1596). Eine kulturgeschichtliche Studie* (Vienna, unpubl. Phil. Diss., 1973).

55 These formerly anonymous Ottoman chronicles were called *Tewārīkh-i āl-i 'Oṯmān*. For more detail see Thomas Menzel, 'Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Meḥmed b. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Djamālī', in Clifford Edmund Bosworth et al (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Islam* Vol. v. (Leiden, Brill 1995), pp. 478–479; Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, pp. 72–74.

56 At this time Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf was a member of the Privy Council of the Emperor. For more detail see Ács, 'Pro Turcis and contra Turcas', p. 5; Tardy, *Rabok, követek*, p. 26. The German translation was published with the title *Chronica oder Acta von der Türckischen Tyrannen herkommen und geführten Kriegen, aus Türckischen Sprachen verdeutschet. Vorhin nie in Druck ausgangen* by the printer Marcus Broslain in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1567. See Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, pp. 73.; Klaus Kreiser, *Der osmanische Staat, 1300–1922* (Munich, Oldenburg, 1922), p. 80.

57 “mit dem Türckischen Exemplar conferiert”. See Löwenklau, *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation*, p. 1. as well as the text on the title page and of the dedication.

examine the so-called *Codex Verantianus* that consisted of the longer version of the above-mentioned manuscript. It was purchased by his then uncle Anton Vrančić (Antal Verancsics, d. 1573) together with several other manuscripts during his stay in the Ottoman capital for his own library.⁵⁸ Löwenklau was able to use this manuscript as well the original of the shorter version with the assistance of a Hungarian interpreter, István who was well trained in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and Persian as well.⁵⁹ The period of Ottoman history between 1550 and 1590 he described on the basis of his additional research in the libraries in Vienna, as well as the further sources he collected during his stay in Constantinople and the oral information that he also gathered there.

The Imperial Library in Vienna and Its First Orientalist Librarian

Unlike Johann Löwenklau, or to the other above-mentioned transcultural intermediaries, the imperial librarian and successor of Hugo Blotius in the period between 1608 and 1636, Sebastian Tenggengel had never visited the Ottoman capital or other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, his library contained a huge number of manuscripts, and also printed books, in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Syrian/Chaldean, Armenian and Abyssinian – the languages that the orientalist Tenggengel was able to speak, read and write.⁶⁰ These manuscripts and books, together with other items of Tenggengel's library, became part of the imperial library after his death in 1636.⁶¹

In the first half of the seventeenth century Tenggengel could still rely on the assistance of members of the above mentioned groups of transcultural intermediaries who already in the second half of the sixteenth century enabled transcultural exchange via books between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Due to their mediation and co-operation he was able to increase the oriental holdings of the imperial collection and his private library without ever leaving the territories of the Austrian Habsburgs. In the 1610s it was the interpreter of the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople, Johannes Paulus Albanus, who

58 Leunclavius, *Historia Mysvlmanae Tyrccorum*, p. 31. See also Menzel, 'Muhyi 'l-Din Mehmed, p. 479.

59 See Tardy, *Rabok, követe*, p. 6.

60 Franz Unterkirchner, 'Hugo Blotius und seine ersten Nachfolger', in Josef Stummvoll (ed.), *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 1. Teil: Die Hofbibliothek* (Vienna, Georg Prachner Verlag, 1968), p. 114–142.

61 Tenggengel's private library contained more than 4000 manuscripts and books, of which 179 were Oriental manuscripts. G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k. k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*. Bd. III. (Vienna, 1867), p. 1x.

assisted him to find the required manuscripts and books. A list compiled in Latin, Arabic and Hebrew script that Tegnagel sent to Albanus in 1613 shows that he was aware of the situation of the market not only in Constantinople but in Cairo, Aleppo and Damascus as well.⁶² Tegnagel's index contains, for example, historical manuscripts, with the name of the authors, written in Arabic and Persian, Arabic-Ottoman Turkish dictionaries, cosmographies, works on medicine, astronomy and philosophy in Arabic and Hebrew, by Aristotle, Plato, Hippocrates, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), as well as books published by Jewish printers in the Ottoman capital or manuscripts on the history and legends concerning Alexander the Great.⁶³ In the 1620s Tegnagel ordered books and manuscripts from the Ottoman Empire with the assistance of one of his closest friends, the book collector, antiquarian and chief interpreter at the court of Emperor Ferdinand II, Michel D'Asquier who carried out also diplomatic missions into the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁴ Further, it was the Copt interpreter of the Habsburg envoy in Constantinople that time, Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus, who provided him with books. The correspondence of his main patron D'Asquier with Tegnagel shows that D'Asquier and Barbatus strongly co-operated in order to find the required manuscripts and books for the imperial librarian in the bookshops of the Ottoman Empire. Barbatus was, however, not only an Ottoman subject such as the above-mentioned renegades Murad and Mahmud but a translator of European books into Ottoman Turkish and author of printed books in Latin as well.⁶⁵

62 ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Cod. 8997, Collectanae et adversaria, fol. 52r–53r.

63 Ibid.

64 This French man of letters, who was well trained in Ottoman Turkish amongst other things, also served as main adviser in Ottoman matters at the imperial court where he held the position of chief interpreter between 1625 and 1663/64. For more detail see Alastair Hamilton, 'Michel D'Asquier, Imperial Interpreter and Bibliophile', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72 (2009), pp. 237–242.; István Hiller, 'A „Titkos Levelezők" intézménye', in Péter Tusor (ed.), *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója ünnepére* (Budapest, ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kara, 1998), p. 208. To his diplomatic missions see for instance the letters that D'Asquier sent from the Hungarian territories of the Ottoman Empire to Tegnagel in the 1620s: Buda, 26 September 1624, ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Cod. 9737s, *Commercium litterarum*, fol. 313r-v.; Comorn/Komárom, 4 April 1625, ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Cod. 9737t, *Commercium litterarum*, p. 22r–23r. At that time he served the imperial delegates at the peace negotiations of Szőny-Gyarmat (1624/25).

65 He was born Yūsuf ibn Abū Dhaqn in Cairo in the 1570s and became known in Europe as Joseph Barbatus or Abudactus in the networks of *respublica litteraria* in the first half of

Conclusion

The examples analysed in the present paper show from different angles that in the early modern period clear-cut religious, cultural and political boundaries between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires definitely did not exist. From this it follows that the imperial library in Vienna did and does not only represent an “intellectual arsenal formed to fight the Ottomans”. Rather, it can also be considered as a *lieux de mémoire* of transcultural exchange. Accordingly, the manuscripts and printed books kept in libraries in the Habsburg and Ottoman territories do not only represent one of the main means of cultural bridging but they also document the exchanges made. They show in manifold ways that the two empires did share cultural values and sociocultural practices. Moreover, books and manuscripts compiled by the various transcultural intermediaries exemplify the reciprocal effects of exchange, a two-sided, creative process of transformation in addition to the process of giving and receiving. Their skills in ‘translating cultures’ enabled them a deliberate negotiation of ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern’ cultural horizons that resulted in their hybrid manuscripts and books. Therefore, we may state that the Ottoman territories did not only participate in the principal networks of exchange in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but they have to be considered as integrated parts of the European book world, too.

the seventeenth century. From 1622 to 1644 he served as interpreter at the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople. For more detail see Alastair Hamilton, ‘An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters: Josephus Barbatus or Abudactus the Copt’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 123–150. For the correspondence between D’Asquier and Tengnagel see for instance the following letter: D’Asquier to Tengnagel from Buda from 26 September 1624. ÖNB (Austrian National Library), Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Cod. 9737s, *Commercium litterarum*, fol. 313r.

‘Translated and Often Printed in Most Languages of Europe’: Movement and Translations of Italian Histories on the Dutch Revolt across Europe

Nina Lamal

In the preface to the English translation of Guido Bentivoglio's *History on the wars in Flanders* (1654) the London printer-publisher Humphrey Moseley stated the following:

If I say this Book hath been often call'd for, you may believe me. For, none who are not un-read or un-travail'd, but know what value is paid to BENTIVOGLIO, not only in *Italy*, whose Language is weare's, and in *Flanders*, which gave it subject, but in *France* and *Spain*, who by worthy *Translations* have made it their own.¹

Moseley referred to the popularity of Bentivoglio's work in Italy, the Netherlands, France and Spain in order to advertise the newly published English translation.² But his remark that this book had often been asked for indicates that this London publisher was aware of the publication of other editions and translations in European cities. Through the practice of translation, works such as Bentivoglio's history crossed political and religious borders and were adapted to new cultural climates, an idea captured by Moseley's statement that through translation the French and Spanish 'have made it their own'. Peter Burke has called such a process – following leading anthropologists – 'cultural translation'.³ His work has revealed the potential of detailed study of translations to "understand what readers in different countries found particularly interesting or alien in other cultures in the early modern period".⁴ Scholars have become increasingly

1 Guido Bentivoglio, *The history of the warrs of Flanders written in Italian by that learned and famous Cardinall Bentivoglio; Englished by the Right Honorable Henry, earl of Monmouth* (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1654), A.

2 Paul J. Voss, 'Books for sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29 (1998), pp. 733–756 and Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006).

3 P. Burke, 'Cultures of translation in early modern Europe', in P. Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 7.

4 Burke, 'Translating Histories', in *Cultural Translation*, p. 125.

aware of the importance of translation for the circulation of ideas, information and books in early modern Europe.⁵ Few studies on early modern translations have, however, studied the patterns of mobility of early modern books across Europe and the 'intricate nexus' between the different actors involved in the process of translation.⁶ By studying the initial publication and reprinting of texts – both in their original language and in different translations – this paper will study the transnational movement of texts and the role of the European book trade. In particular, this is a case study of the publication and translation of two Italian and Catholic history writers of the revolt in the Low Countries: Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio's *Relationi* (1629), *Della Guerra di Fiandra* (1632–1639) and the Jesuit Famiano Strada's *De Bello Belgico* (1632–1647).⁷

The revolt in the Low Countries was followed with great interest in early modern Europe.⁸ Politically and religiously the war in the Netherlands divided Europe and many histories on the conflict were written from a partisan stance. The histories of Strada and Bentivoglio were no exception to this trend: as members of the Roman Catholic Church, they were sympathetic to the Spanish-Habsburg monarchy and to the Catholic cause. Very few of these histories crossed political and religious divides easily. But Strada's and Bentivoglio's works found an international audience in seventeenth-century Europe: numerous re-editions appeared in Europe's main publishing centres before the works were translated into French, Spanish, English and Dutch.⁹ Only these two Italian

- 5 For a selection of the recent studies on early modern translations see: Fred Schurink (ed.), *Tudor Translation* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2011); S.K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (eds.), *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Leiden, Brill, 2013); *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015) special issue edited by Brenda M. Hosington on Translation and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe; T. Demetriou, R. Tomlinson (eds.), *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France 1500–1660* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2015) and K. Newman, J. Tylus (eds.), *Early Modern Cultures of Translation* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
- 6 W. Boutcher, 'From cultural translation to a culture of translation? Early Modern Readers, Sellers and Patrons', in T. Demetriou, R. Tomlinson (eds.), *The Culture of Translation*, pp. 23. See also José Maria Fernandez and Edward Lee-Wilson (eds.), *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 7 Burke, 'Cultures of translation in early modern Europe', p. 16; two exceptions are Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant translation of the Imitatio Christi, 1425–1650* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2011); Barker and Hosington, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads*.
- 8 Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt 1560–1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013); Nina Lamal, *Le orecchie si piene di Fiandra. Italian news and histories on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566–1648)* (PhD dissertation, University of Leuven and St Andrews, 2014).
- 9 The Jesuit Jan Poszackowski used Strada's history for his own account of the wars in the Low Countries (published as *Historyi Kalwińskiey* in 1749 in Warsaw). See subsequent footnotes for the various editions and the translations.

and Catholic authors of the Revolt, to my knowledge, were published and read in predominantly Protestant countries such as England and the Dutch Republic.¹⁰ Both authors were praised by Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609–1674), the famous historian of the English civil wars, as they provided him with the model for writing his own account.¹¹ John Adams, one of the American founding fathers, thought Guido Bentivoglio's history was "the most full and compleat history".¹² In considering the printing of original and translated editions as an important aspect of the pan-European book market, this essay will bring the entrepreneurial publishers, their motives and their relationships with translators more to the fore.

Bentivoglio and Strada

Guido Bentivoglio (1579–1644) was a member of a powerful Bolognese noble family and was educated at the University of Padua.¹³ He very quickly achieved success in his ecclesiastical career. In 1607 Bentivoglio was sent as a papal nuncio to the Habsburg Netherlands and in 1616 he was appointed nuncio to France. Upon his return from France to Rome in 1621, he was consecrated Cardinal and he remained in Rome until his death.¹⁴ During his time as nuncio in Brussels, Bentivoglio had sent several diplomatic reports to Rome describing the past wars in the Low Countries and the subsequent rise of the Dutch Republic.¹⁵ A compilation of his diplomatic reports, or *Relationi*, was first published

- 10 The history written by the Genoese merchant Gerolamo Conestaggio was particularly critical towards the Habsburg monarchy but it was not translated into any other vernacular: see Lamal, *Le orecchie si piene di Fiandra*, pp. 167–171 and Cees Reijner, 'Een Italiaanse verdediger van de Opstand? De internationale controverse rond het werk van Gerolamo Conestaggio', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 125 (2012), pp. 173–187.
- 11 Paul Seaward, 'Clarendon, Tacitism and the Civil Wars of Europe', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), pp. 289–311.
- 12 Quoted in G.C. Gibbs, 'The Dutch Revolt and the American Revolution', in R. Oresko, G.C. Gibbs, H.M. Scott (eds.), *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnhild Hatton* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 619.
- 13 For a biography see Alberto Merola, 'Guido Bentivoglio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter: DBI), 8 (1966). DBI is available online via <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/>.
- 14 Raffaello Belvederi, *Guido Bentivoglio e la politica europea del suo tempo (1607–1621)* (Padua, Liviana editrice, 1962).
- 15 The manuscript account sent by Bentivoglio to Cardinal Borghese in 1611: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Borghese, I, vol 404: *Relatione delle Provincie Unite de' Paesi Bassi, chiamate comunemente col nome di Fiandra, all' Ill.mo Signor Cardinale Borghese*.

in Antwerp in 1629.¹⁶ With this publication, based on his first hand experiences as a nuncio in the Low Countries, Bentivoglio instantly became renowned as an extremely knowledgeable writer on the revolt in the Netherlands. Just a few years later, in 1632, the first part of his *Della Guerre di Fiandra* was published anonymously in Cologne. The publisher of this first edition is unknown; Cologne was used as a false imprint and the work was probably published in Rome.¹⁷ The second part appeared in Cologne in 1636 and the third and last part was also published in Cologne in 1639.¹⁸ His three-part history was one of the few on the book market which covered the entire conflict: from 1559 until the conclusion of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609.

The publication of Bentivoglio's history coincided with the publication of another monumental work on the same war written in Latin by the Roman Jesuit, Famiano Strada (1572–1649). Strada was born near Viterbo and entered the Jesuit order in 1591.¹⁹ He was later appointed professor of rhetoric at the prestigious *Collegio Romano*. In 1617, at the demand of Ranuccio I Farnese (1569–1622), Duke of Parma and Piacenza, he was assigned the task of writing a history of the war in the Netherlands. In order to write this history, Strada was given access to the archives of the Farnese family. He consulted a broad range of sources such as letters written by princes, instructions to ambassadors, notes by spies and so forth. Throughout his history he reminded his readers of this access to 'state secrets' by citing and copying reports and letters.²⁰ Strada's history was divided in two 'decades': the first decade described the period from 1559 to 1579 and the second decade from 1579 to 1589. Strada did not succeed in writing his history

16 Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi fatte dall'ill.mo, e reu.mo sig.or cardinal Bentiuoglio in tempo delle sue nuntiatione di Fiandra, e di Francia. Date in luce da Ercio Puteano* (Antwerp, Jan van Meerbeeck, 1629); for a modern edition see S. Mastellone, E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier (eds.), *Relatione delle provincie unite. Facsimile dell'edizione "Elzeviriana" Bruxelles 1632* (Florence, centro editoriale toscano, 1983).

17 Marino Parenti, *Dizionario di luoghi di stampa falsi, inventati o supposti* (Florence, Sassoni, 1951), p. 51.

18 Guido Bentivoglio, *Della guerra di Fiandra, descritta dal cardinal Bentivoglio* (Cologne, s.n., 1632–1639). The first edition only consisted of eight 'books' or chapters; in the subsequent edition of the first volume in 1633 the ninth and tenth books were added.

19 Florian Neumann, *Geschichtsschreibung als Kunst: Famiano Strada S.I. (1572–1649) und die Ars Historica in Italien* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2013), pp. 11–27.

20 For example, he described the government of the Duke of Alva and Requesens rather briefly and expanded upon that of Don Juan and Alexander Farnese because for the latter he had access to the archival documents: Famiano Strada, *Della Guerra di Fiandra deca prima composta da Famiano Strada della Comp. di Giesu volgarizzata da Carlo Papini dall'istessa compagnia* (Rome, Scheus, 1638), p. 303.

up to end of the conflict in 1609, as Bentivoglio had done. He did not even reach 1592, the year in which his main protagonist Alexander Farnese died.²¹ Completing such a monumental history was not an easy task: the first decade only appeared in 1632. It was published in Rome by Francesco Corbelletti.²² Corbelletti created a beautiful folio edition and used as its frontispiece the famous *Leo Belgicus*, a map of the Low Countries in the form of a lion. The book contained several engravings of important battles and key historical figures. Fifteen years later, in 1647, the heirs of Corbelletti also published the second part of Strada's history.²³ Strada was criticised, amongst others by Bentivoglio, for promoting the Farnese family.²⁴ Nevertheless, despite fierce criticism, Strada's account of the war became one of the most popular books of this conflict.

Editions across Europe

Bentivoglio's *Relationi* were first published in 1629 in Antwerp.²⁵ According to Jean-Jacques Chifflet (1588–1660), physician to Archduchess Isabel, Bentivoglio

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- 21 Guglielmo Dondini and Angelo Gallucci, two members of the Jesuit order, continued his work by composing new histories on the Revolt in Latin. Dondini's work covered the period until the death of Alexander Farnese in 1592 and Gallucci's describes the period from 1593 until the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce in 1609: Guglielmo Dondini, *Gulielmi Dondini Bononiensis e Societate Iesu Historia de rebus in Gallia gestis ab Alexandro Farnesio Parmae, et Placentiae duce 3. supremo Belgii praefecto* (Rome, Tinassi, 1673); Angeli Gallucci, *Angeli Galluccii e Societate Iesu De bello Belgico ab anno Christi 1593. ad inducias annorum 12. an 1609 pactas*. (Rome, heirs of Corbelletti, 1671).
 - 22 Famiano Strada, *De bello belgico decas prima ab excessu Caroli v. imp. Usque ad initia praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii Parmae, ac Placentiae Ducis III* (Rome, Francesco Corbelletti, 1632). For an overview of the editions of Strada's work, see Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen, 'Fam. Strada De bello Belgico decas prima et decas secunda: description des diverses éditions de cet ouvrage', in *Extrait des livraisons de la Bibliotheca Belgica ou Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Ghent, Vyt, 1881).
 - 23 Famiano Strada, *Famiani Stradae romani e Societate Jesu de bello belgico decas secunda ab initio praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii Parmae Placentiaeque ducis III anno 1578 usque ad annum 1590* (Rome, heirs of Corbelletti, 1647).
 - 24 Guido Bentivoglio, *Memorie del cardinal Bentivoglio, con le quali descriue la sua vita, e non solo le cose a lui successe nel corso di essa* (Venice, Giunti and Baba, 1648), p. 139: 'Giudicato ch'egli habbia ecceduto per qualche particolare affetto verso la casa Farnese'. For other critics: Neumann, *Geschichtsschreibung als Kunst*, pp. 274–290.
 - 25 Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi fatte dall'ill.mo, e reu.mo sig.or cardinal Bentiuoglio in tempo delle sue nuntiatore di Fiandra, e di Francia. Date in luce da Ercio Puteano* (Antwerp, Jan van Meerbeeck, 1629).

had taken the initiative to publish his diplomatic reports in order to halt the circulation of clandestine manuscript copies which contained unfavourable passages about the general of the Habsburg army, Ambrogio Spinola.²⁶ Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), the archducal historiographer, was in charge of the publication and dedicated the work to the Archduchess. However, according to Chifflet, the council of Brabant temporarily suspended publication of the book because certain passages were more favourable to the States and their privileges than towards the ruler.²⁷ For instance Bentivoglio recognised the innate love of liberty of the inhabitants of the Low Countries as a cause for the Revolt: "they love liberty above measure and therefore are most tenacious of their privileges".²⁸ By the orders of the council, the editions of the *Relationi* printed by Jan van Meerbeeck were seized at the printer's house.²⁹ However, this measure did not stop the publication and circulation of this book, nor Meerbeeck from issuing a second edition in 1629 using a false imprint of 'Nicoloa Pantino' in Cologne to avoid further problems.³⁰ Bentivoglio's *Relationi* was subsequently republished in several different editions in Paris, Venice, Leiden and translated into Spanish (1631), French (1642), Dutch (1648) and English (1652).³¹ Apparently, Puteanus planned a translation of the *Relationi* into Latin but so far no copy has been found.³² His three-part history was also reprinted quickly

- 26 Letter from Jean-Jacques Chifflet to Guido di Bagno on 16 June 1629 in Bernard de Meester (ed.), *Lettres de Philippe et de Jean-Jacques Chifflet sur les affaires des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, Palais des Academies, 1943), p. 102.
- 27 Letter from Chifflet to Guido di Bagno on 23 November 1629 in de Meester, *Lettres*, p. 113.
- 28 Guido Bentivoglio, *Historical relations of the United Provinces & of Flanders written originally in Italian by Cardinall Bentivoglio; and now rendred into English by the Right Honourable Henry, Earle of Monmouth* (London, Moseley, 1652), p. 3.
- 29 Bernard Vermaseren, *De Katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw over den Opstand* (Maastricht, Van Aelst, 1941), pp. 213–214.
- 30 Nicole Bingen, *Philausone (1500–1660): Répertoire des ouvrages en langue Italienne publiés dans les pays de langue Française de 1500 à 1660* (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1994), pp. 74–76; *Relationi fatte dall'ill.mo, e reu.mo sig.or cardinal Bentiuoglio in tempo delle sue nuntiatore di Fiandra, e di Francia. Date in luce da Erycio Puteano* (Cologne [Antwerp], Nicolao Pantino [Jan van Meerbeeck], 1629).
- 31 Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi del cardinal Bentivoglio* (Paris, Carlo Sciappellain, 1631); Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi del cardinal Bentivoglio*. (Brussels [Leiden], Giovanni de Meerbeecq [Elzevier], 1632); Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi del cardinale Bentiuoglio all'ill. mo e r.mo sig.r mio colendiss. monsig. Francesco Vitelli arcivescouo di Thessalonica* (Venice, Marco Ginammi, 1633); for editions in French-speaking regions see: Bingen, *Philausone (1500–1660)*, pp. 76–80; for translations see subsequent footnotes.
- 32 Letter from Bentivoglio to Puteanus on 4 January 1631: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Barberini Latina, 5776, f31–33; Micheline Soenen, *Inventaire analytique*

in those same cities: in 1640 the three volumes were available on the Venetian book market and the work was republished in Venice throughout the seventeenth century.³³ In 1644 the Parisian printer-publisher Nicolas Redelichuysen decided to publish the whole oeuvre of Bentivoglio in one large folio volume: the *Relationi* together with the history and a compilation of letters written by Bentivoglio were put on the market. According to Redelichuysen, this was because 'they were so eagerly sought by all'.³⁴ This turned out to be a successful publishing strategy: the works appeared in one single volume in Paris in four editions between 1645 and 1650.³⁵

Bentivoglio's *Relationi* and *Guerra di Fiandra* were reissued fairly quickly by the Elzevier firm in Leiden. Part of their business strategies was to reprint successful books.³⁶ The *Relationi* appeared in 1632 and in 1635 they reprinted the first part of the history, using false imprints such as 'Cologne' or 'Brussels'. Yet on the title-pages the typographical device of a palm tree and the motto *Assurgo pressa* (I grow under pressure) clearly referred to their company. The use of false imprints was a common practice amongst publishers in the Dutch Republic for Catholic books: it was probably a commercial strategy intended to make it easier to sell their books in Catholic countries.³⁷ Strada's work was especially popular in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic.³⁸ The Antwerp publisher, Jan Cnobbaert (1590–1637) published the first volume of Strada's history in 1635 in octavo. The Cnobbaert firm was situated 'Near the professed house of the Society of Jesus' in Antwerp and had close connections with the Jesuits. Most of their output were books written by Jesuits, amongst

des documents relatifs à l'impression et au commerce des livres (1546–1702) contenus dans les cartons 1276 à 1280 du conseil privé espagnol (Brussels, Archives général du royaume, 1983), no. 203. The orations in the *Relationi* were translated into Latin by Paganinus Gaudentius (c.1595–1649), a former reformed preacher who converted to Catholicism and became Professor of Eloquence in Pisa. See for the manuscript version: BAV, Urbinate Latina, 1563.

33 G. Bentivoglio, *Della guerra di Fiandra* (Venice, Baba, 1637–1640). For the other Venetian editions see C. Griffante, A. Giachery, S. Minuzzi (eds.), *Le edizioni veneziane del Seicento. Censimento* (Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003), pp. 97.

34 Guido Bentivoglio, *Opere del cardinal Bentivoglio* (Paris, Redelichuysen, 1644).

35 Bingen, *Philausone* (1500–1660), pp. 79–80.

36 On the Elzeviers see: B.P.M. Dongelmans, P.G. Hoftijzer, O.S. Lankhorst (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa. Het 17de-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen, Walburg pers, 2000).

37 Paul Beghyn, *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic and its Generality Lands 1567–1773. A Bibliography* (Leiden, Brill, 2014), pp. 9–13.

38 One Latin edition in Paris in 1648 and two Latin editions in 1651 in Mainz and in Frankfurt.

them didactical and religious works but also several translations.³⁹ Other editions of the first volume were published in 1636, 1640, 1641 and 1649 by the firm. The second decade was published only one year after its original publication in Rome in 1648. The firm had secured a privilege from both the Holy Roman Emperor and the Spanish king for the publication of the works. The octavo format and the numerous re-editions suggest Cnobbaert aimed a European-wide Latin reading public.

In 1643 a Latin edition of Strada was published in Leiden by Jacob Marcus without a false imprint.⁴⁰ This indicates that Marcus aimed at the learned domestic audience in the university town rather than an international one. He redesigned the title page and did not use the famous *Leo Belgicus* which was present on the first Roman edition and the editions published in Antwerp. Three Amsterdam printer-publishers, Johannes Janssonius, Joan Blaeu and Johannes van Metelen, reissued Strada's first and second decade in 1648, all using false Roman imprints.⁴¹ The appearance of five editions in the year the treaty of Westphalia which ended the decades of war in the Low Countries suggests these Amsterdam publishers envisioned an interested audience for their editions of Strada's history. The popularity of these history works in both the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic can be related to the fact that both authors described the past of both countries. But Amsterdam and Antwerp were both also very important centres for book production in seventeenth-century Europe with important international distribution networks.⁴² These

39 The Cnobbaert firm has not been well studied. The Short Title Catalogue Flanders (STCV) records 127 titles (Jan Cnobbaert) and 220 titles (widow and heirs of Cnobbaert), of which 58 are recorded as translations (6% of their output). STCV was last accessed 8 September 2015.

40 Famiano Strada, *Famiani Stradae romani e societate Iesv de bello belgico decas prima ab excessu Caroli v. imp. vsque ad initia praefecturae Alexandrii Farnesii Parmae, ac Placentiae ducis III* (Leiden, Jacob Marcus, 1643). A corrected edition was published in 1645 in Amsterdam by Janssonius.

41 Strada, *De Bello Belgico decas prima* (Rome [Amsterdam], Scheus [Janssonius?], 1648); Strada, *De Bello Belgico decas prima* (Rome [Amsterdam], Scheus, [Blaeu] 1648); Strada, *De Bello Belgico decas secunda* (Rome [Amsterdam], Corbelletti [Janssonius], 1648); Strada, *De Bello Belgico decas secunda* (Rome [Amsterdam], Corbelletti [Blaeu], 1648); Strada, *De Bello Belgico decas secunda* (Amsterdam, Van Metelen, 1648).

42 See A.H. Laeven, 'The Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs and the History of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century', in G. Berkvens-Stevelinck, H. Bots, P.G. Hoftijzer, O.S. Lankhorst (eds.), *Le magasin de l'univers. The Dutch Republic as the centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden, Brill, 1992), pp. 185–197. Antwerp publishers were as well represented as Amsterdam publishers until 1660 at the Frankfurt fairs. On the importance of Habsburg Netherlands as a place for translations see Werner Thomas, *Lieve Behiels*

re-editions in Latin and in Italian were not only intended for the domestic market, they were, above all, aimed for distribution on the European book market.

Movement of Translations

The publishing success of the original editions in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic was soon followed by the Dutch and French translations. The Cnobbaerts, responsible for the many Latin editions of Strada's work, also published a Dutch translation of the first decade in 1645. A second edition in 1646 followed suit.⁴³ William van Aelst, a school teacher in Antwerp, had translated the work.⁴⁴ A year after its first appearance in Antwerp, Van Aelst's translation was reprinted in Amsterdam by Nicolaes van Ravesteyn without significant changes. This Dutch translation of the first decade was also republished in other cities in the Dutch Republic: in Roermond (1647), in Rotterdam (1655) and in Dordrecht (1655).⁴⁵ Ravensteyn rapidly published a Dutch translation of the second decade of Strada's history in 1649. On the title-page it was announced that it had been "translated faithfully out of Latin", but the translator of this history remains unknown. This edition, in its turn, was republished in Antwerp by Michiel Cnobbaert in 1662.⁴⁶ The Dutch translations crossed the borders between the Habsburg lands and the Dutch Republic rather easily.

The French translation similarly was a publishing success in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg lands. The famous dramatist Pierre du Ryer (1605–1658) had translated Strada's history into French. As well as being a writer of tragedies,

and Christian Pistor, 'Translation as an Instrument of Empire: The Southern Netherlands as a Translation Center of the Spanish Empire, 1500–1700' in *Historical Methods*, 47:3 (2014), pp. 113–127.

43 *De thien eerste boecken der Nederlandsche oorlogen* (Antwerp, Widow of Cnobbaert, 1645). The Antwerp publisher Verdussen had received a privilege in 1642 for the publication of the Jesuit Franciscus de Smet's Dutch translation of Strada's work. Yet there is no known surviving copy of this edition. For this privilege see: Soenen, *Inventaire analytique*, no. 112.

44 See entry by Peter D. Kuyl, 'Guillaume van Aelst', in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, volume 1 (Brussels, Academie Royale du Belgique, 1866), pp. 91–92. He had also translated *Le Paradis ouvert à Philagie* by the French Jesuit Paul de Barry into Dutch (published by widow of Cnobbaert in 1646).

45 Begheyn, *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic*, pp. 105, 124–125.

46 Famiano Strada, *Het tweede deel der Nederlandsche oorlogen [...] beginnende met het stadthouderschap van Alexander Farnées de 111. [...] van het 1578. tot het 1590. Jaer* (Antwerp, Michiel Cnobbaert, 1662).

du Ryer was an active translator.⁴⁷ He had mainly translated ancient historians, including Herodotus and Livy, before he undertook the translation of Strada's history.⁴⁸ The first decade was published in 1644 and the second in 1649 in Paris. More than twelve editions were published during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.⁴⁹

In 1645, one year after the first Parisian edition, the French translation was printed by Adrien Quinqué of Tournai.⁵⁰ He had secured a privilege for ten years by arguing that the publication had been a costly undertaking: thirteen new engraved portraits were added to this edition. His widow, Marie de la Forge, published the second decade in 1651 and she also received a printing privilege for nine years.⁵¹ In this French-speaking region of the Habsburg Netherlands the publications of the Parisian printers were followed very closely.⁵² Printers in this border region were quick to republish Parisian editions, and in the case of French translations, this was relatively cheaper than to commission a new translation. The Elzeviers in Leiden followed a similar strategy.⁵³ They were very aware of the publications, trends and tastes of the Parisian book market because they had a large clientele in Paris and travelled on a yearly basis to the city. Besides 'pirating' Bentivoglio's work in Italian, the Elzevier firm also reissued the French translations by Du Ryer in 1645 and 1652, using the false imprint 'Paris'.

The Spanish translation of Strada's decades appeared much later than the French and Dutch one: it was published in Cologne in 1681.⁵⁴ A year later, a new and revised edition was published in Cologne but this 1682 edition was actually

47 His translation activities have not been studied in detail, for a brief overview see: E. Bury, 'Note sur Pierre du Ryer traducteur', in D. Moncond'huy (ed.), *Pierre du Ryer: dramaturge et traducteur* (Paris, Champion, 2001), pp. 59–66.

48 For biographical information see: James F. Gaines, *Pierre du Ryer and his Tragedies: From Envy to Liberation* (Geneva, Droz, 1987), pp. 9–24.

49 Famiano Strada, *Histoire de la guerre de Flandre, traduite de Famianus Strada, par P. Du Ryer* (Paris, Antoine de Sommaville and Augustine Courbe, 1644).

50 Soenen, *Inventaire analytique*, no. 128. On Quinqué: Ernest Matthieu, 'Adrien Quinqué, imprimeur tournaisien', *Revue tournaisienne*, 8 (1912), pp. 151–154, I would like to thank Alexander Soetaert for sharing his information on Quinqué.

51 Famiano Strada, *Histoire de la guerre des Pays Bas...Seconde decade* (Tournay, widow of Quinqué, 1651).

52 For this phenomenon see also: A. Soetaert, 'Translating and Distributing Italian Religious Literature in the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai', *Incontri* 25:2 (2015), pp. 29–40.

53 H. Bots, 'De Elzeviers en hun relatie met Frankrijk', in *Boekverkopers van Europa*, pp. 169–173.

54 Famiano Strada, *Primera decada de las guerras de Flandes* (Cologne, s.n., 1681) and Famiano Strada, *Segunda década de las guerras de Flandes* (Cologne, s.n., 1681). Melchor de Novar had also translated the 'third decade' written by Dondini.

published in Amsterdam, most probably by the Sephardi printing house of Joseph Athias.⁵⁵ This edition was revised and corrected by Alonso de Bonne-Maison, an Aragonese physician, who resided in Amsterdam at the time. He published the book at his own expense and he dedicated it to Don Ignacio de White, a Spanish nobleman of Irish decent.⁵⁶ Both editions had 32 engravings by the Dutch printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe.⁵⁷ On the title-page it was stated that it had “all the necessary privileges”, and the approvals of the head of the Jesuits and the king were included. These editions most probably targeted the Spanish market as Sephardi Jews in Amsterdam often published Spanish works for commercial reasons.⁵⁸ The same is true for the new Spanish translation of Bentivoglio’s history printed in Antwerp in 1687 by Hieronymus III Verdussen. Around this time, Verdussen successfully reoriented his business towards the Spanish book market.⁵⁹ The Verdussens continued this strategy: in 1701 a corrected version of the Spanish translation of Strada was published in Antwerp.⁶⁰ Most of the publishers took their chances and reissued translations of the work that had already been published elsewhere. This decision was largely influenced by the printers’ broader output and the possible markets for their books. The Elzeviers’ published the French translation of Strada’s history as their business was partly oriented towards the French book market. The strategic decisions of publishing houses are necessary to explain and to understand why translations in certain languages were published in specific places in Europe.

Cultural Adaptations for a Specific Audience

The glorification of the Farnese dynasty which was present in Strada’s work was explicitly continued by the Italian and Spanish Jesuit translators. Strada’s

55 H. den Boer, ‘Amsterdam as “Locus” of Iberian Printing in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in Y. Kaplan (ed.), *The Dutch Intersection: The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History* (Leiden, Brill, 2008), pp. 97–98.

56 Famiano Strada, *Primera década de las guerras de Flandes* (Colonia, s.n., 1682).

57 For an overview of the engravings see, Elena Paez Rios, ‘Las “Décadas” de Las Guerras de Flandes,’ *Revista Archivos Bibliotecas*, 73 (1966), pp. 159–178. For more information on Romeyn de Hooghe, Henk van Nierop (ed.), *Romeyn de Hooghe: De verbeelding van de Late Gouden* (Zwolle, Waanders, 2008).

58 den Boer, ‘Amsterdam as “Locus” of Iberian Printing’, p. 95.

59 S. Van Rossem, ‘The Verdussens and the International Trade in Catholic Books (Antwerp, Seventeenth Century)’, in N. Maillard Álvarez (ed.), *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, Brill, 2014), pp. 12–32.

60 Strada, *Primera década de las guerras de Flandes* (Antwerp, Verdussen, 1701).

Latin history was translated into Italian by two other Jesuits, Carlo Papini and Paolo Segneri.⁶¹ Papini's translation of the first decade was published in Rome in 1638 and Segneri's translation of the second decade in 1648 in the same city.⁶² Both translators dedicated their editions of the history to members of the Farnese family. In their prefaces, they exalted the many virtues of Margaret of Parma and of Alexander Farnese. The Spanish translation was also entrusted to a Jesuit father, Melchor de Novar, who explicitly reminded his readers of the longstanding patronage of the Jesuits by the Farnese family. Apparently, the Spanish translation was made on the request of Alexander Farnese (1635–1689), prince of Parma and Piacenza, and governor general in the Habsburg Netherlands between 1680 and 1682.⁶³ The celebration of the Farnese dynasty is evident from the title page of the third decade where Alexander Farnese (1545–1592) is represented as Hercules, while Minerva is holding a portrait of the young Alexander Farnese. Despite his admiration of the Farnese dynasty, de Novar felt the need to alter slightly Strada's original version. In the preface he pointed out to the reader that he would not refrain from warning his Spanish readers if something described by Strada would give them displeasure. He did not further elaborate upon this point but a close comparison between the Spanish translation and the original edition reveals what de Novar thought might have displeased his Spanish readers.

In the marginal notes of the seventh book he added comments which dealt with the Duke of Alva's governorship (1567–1573). At the beginning of this book Strada had written that peace had been restored in the Low Countries by Margaret of Parma before Alva arrived in 1567. Strada aimed to rehabilitate Margaret's decisions but in a marginal note de Novar added that although the peace had been restored, the true causes of the rebellion were still present.⁶⁴ In this way, Strada's critique of Alva's policies which in his view had reignited

61 On the translation activities of the Jesuits more in general see P. Burke, 'The Jesuits and the Art of Translation in Early Modern Europe', in J.W. O'Malley, etc. (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 24–32.

62 Famiano Strada, *Della Guerra di Fiandra deca prima composta da Famiano Strada della Comp. di Giesu volgarizzata da Carlo Papini dall'istessa compagnia* (Rome, Scheus, 1638) and Strada, *Della Guerra di Fiandra deca seconda composta da Famiano Strada della Comp. di Giesu volgarizzata da Paolo Segneri della medesima compagnia* (Rome, heirs of Corbelletti, 1648).

63 According to the dedication of de Novar to Alexander Farnese: 'yo obedeciendo à v.A. que tuvo gusto de mandarmélo he traducido en el nuestro', in Strada, *Primera década de las guerras de Flandes* (Cologne, s.n., 1681).

64 *Primera década*, p. 291. Other examples of added marginal notes by de Novar; p. 292, 311, 319, 359.

the conflict were countered. In another marginal note, de Novar commented upon the policy of clemency pursued by the new governor De Requesens (1574–1576). According to de Novar, Requesens' policy was not the right way to solve the conflict in the Low Countries, which was a defense of Alba's more repressive strategies.⁶⁵ Moreover, de Novar omitted Strada's final remarks on Alba: his rigor and pride had provoked so much hate that this had diminished his virtues.⁶⁶ Novar's comments and omission reveal that Strada's portrayal of the Duke of Alba were adapted to a Spanish readership. A few years earlier (1669) the Jesuit Antonio Ossorio had published a laudatory biography of the Duke of Alba. The aim was to rehabilitate his reputation and present him as an exemplary military leader.⁶⁷ De Novar presented a similar image of the Duke of Alba which illustrates how carefully translators thought of the sensibilities of their readers when translating a text. In this case de Novar made minor changes to adapt the text to a different cultural and political context.

A similar case of a translator who was aware of his potential audience is Roeland de Carpentier (1620–1670). His translation of Bentivoglio's *Relationi* was published in Rotterdam in 1648 by Joannes Naeranus, whom de Carpentier knew quite well.⁶⁸ In 1648, with the peace treaty of Westphalia freshly signed, Roeland de Carpentier wrote that since both countries now had become "good neighbours and friends", they needed to know each other's principles of government. Just like the Amsterdam publishers of Strada's Latin history, de Carpentier and Naeranus took advantage of the 1648 peace treaty and an interested audience. De Carpentier's prologue to the reader offers an interesting example of cultural translation, or accommodation of a Catholic historian to a predominantly Protestant culture. His preface of his translation of Bentivoglio's *Relationi* was directed specifically to readers who might have some prejudices against this book. He clearly felt the need to defend his undertaking as he addressed the possible judgment of the reader on Bentivoglio's work as "partial

65 *Primera década*, p. 363.

66 *Primera década*, p. 362.

67 The book was published in Latin and translated into Spanish: Antonio Ossorio, *Vida y Hazañas de Don Alvarez de Toledo, duque de Alba* (Salamanca, Blass, 1669). On the image of Alba see: Y. Rodríguez Pérez, 'Salamander of War, Venerable Old Nobleman: The Literary Construction of the Duke of Alba in the Spanish Golden Age', in M. Ebben, M. Lacy-Bruijn and R. van Hövell tot Westerflier (eds.), *Alba. General and Servant to the Crown* (Rotterdam, Karwansaray publishers, 2013), pp. 327–349.

68 Guido Bentivoglio, *Verhaelboecken van den Caerdinael Bentivoglio vertaelt door Roeland de Carpentier* (Rotterdam, Johannes Naeranus, 1648). On De Carpentier see entry by A.J. van der Aa, *Nieuw biographisch anthologisch, en critisch woordenboek van Nederlandse dichters. Deel 11* (Amsterdam, de Grebber, 1845), p. 7.

and biased". He admitted that this bias could be detected on two main points, namely the description of the Reformed Church and William of Orange. In the case of Bentivoglio's attacks on the Reformed religion, he explained to the reader that this was normal, as he was a papal nuncio. De Carpentier refrained, however, from using the word "heretic" which was used frequently by Bentivoglio and he substituted it with "not-popish-minded" ("on-Roomsgesinde"), a word he invented.

In his preface he commented upon Strada's and Bentivoglio's depiction of William of Orange. According to De Carpentier they could portray the prince as malicious, arrogant and immoral but in the end they had to admit he was a great statesmen. In the case of the prince of Orange, he wrote that he wittingly did not translate some of the words because they irritated him and because he thought they contradicted each other. Upon comparison of the Dutch and the Italian versions, it becomes clear that De Carpentier altered the description of William's virtues and vices as described by Bentivoglio. De Carpentier deleted the following characteristics: "no faithfulness, no goodness, no shame, only outward religiousness, an unquiet mind and greatly ambitious".⁶⁹ This omission reveals the sensitivities concerning the figure of William of Orange, who by that time was celebrated as a hero in the Dutch Republic and thus this issue certainly had to be rectified.⁷⁰ However, in his rendering of the death of William of Orange (1584), de Carpentier did not alter the passage, but followed the original by stating that William of Orange had died without saying anything. According to the States of the Dutch Republic, William's last words though had been: "My God, My God, have pity on me and these poor people".⁷¹ It confirms what De Carpentier had stated in the preface: he had by and large kept his duty as a translator not to alter, correct or change anything. However, he added he had tried to translate it into a pure Dutch language. For example, he preferred the word "Geheimschrijver", which means secretary, instead of the existing Dutch word "secretaries" (secretary), and "gesant" (envoy) instead of "ambassadeur" (ambassador). Glazemaker, the Dutch translator of Bentivoglio's history, also used specifically Dutch words: he consistently substituted "inquisitive"

69 Bentivoglio, *Relationi*, p. 32: 'non fede in lui, non bontà, non vergogna, religion sol d'apparenza, spiriti inquieti, e sommamente ambiciosi' and De Carpentier, *Verhaelboecken*, p. 60.

70 E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'Willem van Oranje in de historiografie van de zeventiende eeuw', in E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier and A.E.M. Janssen (eds.), *Willem van Oranje in de historie (1584–1984): Vier eeuwen beeldvorming en geschiedsschrijving* (Utrecht, Hes, 1984), pp. 32–62.

71 Koenraad W. Swart et al., *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572–84* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003), pp. 252–255.

(inquisition) with “geloofsonderzoek” (official religious inquiry).⁷² Glazemaker simply warned the reader not be irritated by the use of the word ‘heretic’ in this history. Instead of substituting the word, as de Carpentier had done, Glazemaker used the word throughout his history. While in 1648 several words and phrases needed to be substituted and altered, this was not the case in the 1674 translation by Glazemaker. The London publisher Moseley also warned the reader in the translation of Bentivoglio: “it likely may displease you to see him stile the enemy *Heretick* and *Schismatick*, but consider tis the usual language of that church whereof he was a member”. In this English translation, the word “heretick” is not substituted with another word.

The edition of the French translation of Strada published in Tournai by the widow of Quinqué, Marie de la Forge, provides us with a different example of how translations were adapted to a new political and religious climate in a more local context. De la Forge dedicated this new French edition to the city council of Tournai. She explained that Strada would have benefitted from more information on the past events in Tournai.⁷³ Strada had labelled the city repeatedly as a city full of heretics; in the early days of the revolt the city had been a place where many Protestant families lived. It is this version of the town's past which de la Forge aimed to correct. She goes to great lengths, quoting peace agreements and letters, to demonstrate that the members of the city council had always fought to preserve the Catholic religion and to remain obedient to Philip II. Her version of the town's past was a Catholic one. By the mid seventeenth century it was no longer possible to remember that time the city once had rebelled against the king as Strada had described it in his history. Only in two cases did translators feel the need to adapt some of the passages in these histories. In all the other case the arguments for undertaking the translation and publication of these authors indicates how translators and publishers tried to stress the impartiality of these texts.

Admirable Style and Political Lessons

Bentivoglio's *Relationi* had a difficult start in the Low Countries yet already in 1631 it was published in Spanish translation in Habsburg Naples. Don Francesco de Mendoza y Cespedes, secretary to Cardinal Sandoval, translated the text

72 *Historie der Nederlandsche oorlogen*, pp. 42–45; pp. 59–60. Other examples: pp. 36–37 (‘Tzaambelofte’ for ‘compromise’), or p. 113 (‘herneeming’ for ‘repressaille’).

73 Strada, *Histoire de la guerre des Pays Bas*, Azv : ‘seroit souhaitable qu’il eut des memoires particuliers sur ce qui s’est passé en cette ville’.

into Spanish.⁷⁴ He dedicated the *Relaciones* to Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, who was destined to become the new governor general of the Habsburg Netherlands. According to de Mendoza y Cespedes, the work could be used as an instruction manual for the governor-general of the Low Countries.⁷⁵ Whereas the publication had been obstructed by the authorities in the Habsburg Netherlands, the Spanish translation was meant to help the future governor-general to understand the region he was going to rule. This Spanish translation was later also published in Madrid in 1638.⁷⁶ The publication of this work in other Habsburg territories was thus far less hostile than in the Habsburg Low Countries. Gaffardy, a Franciscan friar, who translated the *Relationi* into French in 1642, equally praised the book for its interesting perspectives on politics and the ruling of a state.⁷⁷ It is no coincidence that he also dedicated the book to a political figure, François Sublet De Noyers, who was secretary of state for Louis XIII. Just like the Spanish translator, he praised the book mainly for its interesting perspective on prudence and politics.

Varen de Soto, the Spanish translator of Bentivoglio's history, stated that his motivation was to serve his glorious nation by translating the prodigious actions of its children.⁷⁸ He emphasized that this history offered examples of bravery that should be followed in a time when Spanish valour seemed to be in decline. Glazemaker also underlined to his Dutch readers the importance of their own past. In Bentivoglio's history they could read about their epic struggle against the mightiest empire of the world, in this current period of calamities,

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- 74 Guido Bentivoglio, *Relaciones del Card. Bentivollo publicadas por Ericio Puteano Cronista de su Mag. en Flandes y traduzidas por Don Francisco de Mendoza y Céspedes de Italiano en lengua Castellana. Dedicadas al Ser.mo Señor Cardenal Infante* (Naples, s.n., 1631). He was subsequently also responsible for the translation of *Guerra di Fiandra*, but this translation was never published: For manuscript copy see BAV, Barb lat 3546, *Ocho libros de las guerras de Flandes escritos por el Cardenal Bentivollo traducidos de su lengua italiana en la castellano por Don Francesco de Mendoza y Cespedes secretario del Eminente S. Cardenal Sandoval mio S.*
 - 75 On the translation see Encarnacion Sanchez Garcia, *Imprenta y cultura en la Nápoles virreinal: los signos de la presencia española* (Florence, Alinea, 2007), pp. 147–154.
 - 76 *Relaciones del cardenal Bentivollo, publicadas por Enrico Puteano y traduzidas por Francisco de Mendoca y Cespede de Italiano en lengua castellana* (Madrid, Maria de Quinones, 1638).
 - 77 Guido Bentivoglio, *Les relations dv cardinal Bentivoglio tradvites, et dediees a monsigneur De Noyers* (Paris, Charles Rouillard, 1642).
 - 78 Guido Bentivoglio, *Las guerras de Flandes desde la mverte del emperador Carlos v. hasta la conclusion de la tregua de doze anos, escritas por el eminentissimo cardenal Bentivollo, traduxolas de lengua toscana en la espanola el padre Basilio Varen, de los clerigos menores* (Madrid, Martinez, 1643).

referring to the war with Louis XIV which had started in 1672. The translation of this Roman Catholic work was intended to give courage to the Dutch readers and to convince them of their own strengths because history had proven they could overcome the difficulties ahead.

Other translators mainly pointed to the impartiality of these authors. The London-based publisher Moseley referred to the opinion of other authors. In case of Bentivoglio's history he quoted at length the judgement of the famous Dutch humanist Hugo Grotius who stressed Bentivoglio's impartiality:

I could not hope from the hand of an Enemy to receive so impartial a history of our wars: I doubted not his ability; for I had formerly seen some discourses of his, ...my country will be this be a gainer and a loser: our courage and diligence was equall to theirs, ours swords as sharp, but now Bentivoglio hath conquer'd with his pen, and will wounds us to posterity.⁷⁹

Glazemaker, used a similar argument: he claimed to have undertaken his translation because of the positive judgment made by the Dutch writer, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, in his own historical account on the Dutch Revolt.⁸⁰ Grotius and Hooft's appraisal of Bentivoglio's work was very important since both Dutch authors had written their own histories on the revolt in the Low Countries.

The translators pointed above all to Strada's admirable style as a reason for translating the text. Stapleton, the English translator, expressed his admiration for Strada by referring to him as a "modern Roman".⁸¹ Stapleton claimed it was the fame of this particular writer "that made him ambitious to interpret him to my country".⁸² The Amsterdam publisher Ravensteyn also praised Strada's style and wrote that this Roman had conquered the hearts of "natives who love to read".⁸³ A composition by the Dutch poet Joost van de Vondel, praising Strada's history, accompanied this edition. The arguments and references to the opinions of other acclaimed and popular authors diverted the reader's attention in most cases from Strada's and Bentivoglio's Catholic and Habsburg viewpoints.

⁷⁹ Bentivoglio, *The History of the Warrs of Flanders*, A3–A4.

⁸⁰ Bentivoglio, *Historie der Nederlandtsche oorlogen*, p. 2v.

⁸¹ Strada, *De bello Belgico. The history of the Low-Country warre*, A2.

⁸² Strada, *De bello Belgico. The history of the Low-Country warre*, A2.

⁸³ Strada, *Het tweede deel der Nederlandsche oorlogen* (Amsterdam, Ravesteyn, 1649), p. 3: 'leesgierige inboorlinghen'.

Shared Interests

Some publishers printed a translation of Strada or Bentivoglio because they had a privileged working relationship with the translator. Glazemaker, who was a prolific translator and a member of the Baptist church in Amsterdam, collaborated very closely with the Amsterdam publisher Jan Riewertssoon, who was also a Baptist and published the majority of his translations.⁸⁴ All the works written by Pierre du Ryer, the French translator of Strada's history, were published by the Parisian printer De Sommaville. The only publisher who published both Bentivoglio and Strada in translation was Humphrey Moseley. Moseley was responsible for the publication of both Strada's history as well as Bentivoglio's two works in English between 1650 and 1656. These translations reveal a particular intricate nexus between the translators and the publisher. Around the second half of the seventeenth century, Moseley was one of the most prominent booksellers in London, mostly known for publishing plays and poetry in octavo.⁸⁵ However, amongst his output were also a fair number of translations.

The first decade of Strada was translated in 1650 by Robert Stapleton (1607/1609?–1669), whose earlier translations had also been published by Moseley.⁸⁶ Robert Stapleton was a former Benedictine monk who had converted to Protestantism and returned to England, and became a supporter of

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- 84 He translated over sixty works from Latin, Italian, German and French into Dutch. On his activities as a translator, see: C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker, de zeventiende eeuwse aartsvertaler', in C.L. Thijssen-Schoute (ed.), *Uit de Republiek der Letteren. Elf studiën op het gebied der ideeëngeschiedenis van de Gouden Eeuw* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), pp. 206–261.
 - 85 J.C. Reed, 'Humphrey Moseley, publisher', in *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers*, 2 (1930), pp. 55–142; Paulina Kewes, "'Give me the sociable pocket-books': Humphrey Moseley's serial publication of octavo play collections", *Publishing History*, 38 (1995), pp. 5–21; D.S. Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the invention of English literature', in S. Alcorn Baron, E.N. Lindquist and E.F. Shevlin (eds.), *Agent of change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth Eisenstein* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 105–139.
 - 86 Famiano Strada, *De bello Belgico The history of the Low-Countrey warres, written in Latine by Famianus Strada englished by sr. Rob. Stapylton* (London, Moseley, 1650); *Musaeus, on the loves of Hero and Leander with annotations upon the original By Sir Robert Stapylton Knight, gentleman of the Privie Chamber to the Prince* (London, Moseley, 1647); *Juvenal's sixteen satyrs, or, A survey of the manners and actions of mankind with arguments, marginal notes, and annotations clearing the obscure places out of the history* (London, Mosely, 1646).

the royalist cause.⁸⁷ Stapleton dedicated the work to his nephew Henry Pierrepont (1606–1680), first Marquess of Dorchester, and a royalist. Stapleton did not translate the second decade of Strada and it was never fully translated into English. In 1656, Moseley published only the excerpt on the siege of Antwerp (1584–1585) from Strada's second decade.⁸⁸ Thomas Lancaster, who had “englished” the book, claimed in the preface, that he had read Strada, and was most struck by his description of the Siege of Antwerp, where upon he decided to translate it. He dedicated his work to Caryll Molyneux (1623/24–1700), third viscount Molyneux, a royalist and overtly Roman Catholic nobleman.⁸⁹

Bentivoglio's three volumes were translated in 1654, by Henry Carey, earl of Monmouth (1595–1661).⁹⁰ Henry Carey had made a Grand Tour in Europe, like De Carpentier, he had learnt Italian while travelling and he developed a keen interest in Italian history writing and political thought.⁹¹ After he left parliament in 1640, he started to translate works of Italian authors such as Traiano Boccalini's *I Ragguagli del Parnaso* and Virgilio Malvezzi *Il Romolu*. These translations were all published by Moseley.⁹² Carey also translated Bentivoglio's

87 For biography see entry L.G. Kelly, 'Sir Robert Stapleton', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26305?docPos=14>, accessed 12 December 2015].

88 *The Siege of Antwerp: Written in Latin by Famianus Strada, Englished by Tho Lancaster, Gent* (London, Moseley, 1656).

89 Malcolm Gratton, 'Molyneux, Caryll, third Viscount Molyneux of Maryborough (1623/4–1700)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18919>, accessed 5 Dec 2013].

90 Guido Bentivoglio, *The History of the Warss of Flanders, written in Italian by that learned and famous Cardinal Bentivoglio, englished by the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Monmouth, the whole Work illustrated, with a Map of the seventeen Provinces and above twenty Figures of the chief Personages mentioned in the History* (London, Moseley, 1654).

91 E. Lord, 'Carey, Henry, second earl of Monmouth (1596–1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004).

92 Guido Bentivoglio, *Historicall relations of the United Provinces & of Flanders written originally in Italian by Cardinall Bentivoglio; and now rendred into English by the Right Honourable Henry, Earle of Monmouth*. (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1652); Traiano Boccalini, *I ragguagli di Parnasso, or, Advertisements from Parnassus in two centuries : with the politick touch-stone written originally in Italian by that famous Roman Trajano Bocalini; and now put into English by the Right Honourable Henry, Earle of Monmouth* (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1656); Virgilio Malvezzi, *Romvls and, Tarqvin written in Italian by the Marques Virgilio Malvezzi and now taught English by Henry Earle of Monmouth* (London, Moseley, 1648). See also: Geoffrey P. Baldwin, 'The translation of political theory in early modern Europe', in Burke and Hsia, *Cultural translation*, p. 116.

Relationi. In the preface to the reader, Moseley warned that Bentivoglio's history should not be confused with the *Relationi* "which possibly some may do, because both have the same author, and the same honourable translator and Flanders is the subject matter of both". It is not clear whether Moseley commissioned the translations of either Bentivoglio or Strada. Since he published the other translations of both Stapleton and Carey, it seems far more likely that he was their preferred publisher in London. Carey also seems to have known Stapleton. In the 1648 edition of Carey's translation of Malvezzi, which was dedicated to Charles I, Stapleton wrote complimentary verses. Moreover, both Carey and Stapleton were royalists, and Stapleton and Lancaster had dedicated their translations to royalists, such as Henry Pierrepont. Furthermore, Moseley was also a known supporter of the royalist cause.⁹³

The subsequent publication of English translations of histories on the Dutch Revolt in the 1650s, during the immediate aftermath of the Civil Wars in England and the establishment of the Commonwealth, seems to point to the shared interests of the translators and the printer-publisher. It also raises the question why they translated and published Catholic historians during this period? Louis Potter has described Moseley's output during those years as "subversion for the polite reader" referring to plays, poems and romances which had a pro-royalist and anti-Cromwellian tone.⁹⁴ Could the publication of these histories also be classified as "subversion for the polite reader" in this way?

Paul Seaward has already pointed to the interest of royalists at the height of the English Civil Wars in accounts of rebellions. Davila's history on the Civil Wars in France, for example, was translated in 1647 as it offered the royalists a favourable reading of rebellion.⁹⁵ Could this same interest be the reason for the translations? Did the translators see parallels in these Catholic histories of the Dutch Revolt and the current situation in the British Isles under Oliver Cromwell? Obviously no such interpretations were explicitly given in the epistles to the readers. In the 'translators Epistle to his country-men the readers', Henry Carey stated that he had begun to translate Bentivoglio's history before there were apparent signs "of our falling out with the United Provinces", a reference to the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654). Although the pursuers of war

93 Jason McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 217–218.

94 Louis Potter, *Secret rites and secret writings: royalist literature 1641–1660* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 19–22.

95 Enrico Caterina Davila, *The historie of the civill warres of France written in Italian by H.C. Davila; translated out of the original* (London, Raworth, 1647–1648).

could find interesting information on the strength, government, customs, incomes and expenses of the United Provinces, he made it very clear it was not his intention to provide them with such information. Carey, who defined himself as “never an abettor of war”, carefully expressed his desire for peace and referred to the past civil wars. According to Carey, peace is the result of concord and war proceeds from discord. He summed up a number of things such as the “disobedience of magistrates, corruption of manners, alteration of laws, change of civil government” and added “all the mischiefs that can be done by fire or swords, many of which we in the dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland have of late too sadly experienced.”⁹⁶ He was aware that his words carried a potential danger, as he said “but I will forbear launching farther out into so dangerous and so high-going a sea”. All the elements of discord he summed up could be found in Bentivoglio’s history on the Dutch Revolt. The continuing interest in rebellions and royalist sympathies and admiration for these histories might be an explanation for the translation and publication of these works. The other reason – the war with the Dutch Republic – could have been a motive for a renewed interest in publications on the revolt against Spain. These new wars provided Moseley with an interested public and a commercial opportunity for his publications. There was a need to fully understand the country which had become an enemy. This was exactly the reason why William Aglionby (c.1642–1705) wrote *The present state of the United Provinces of the Low Countries* (1669). Aglionby used Bentivoglio’s *Relationi* to write his own account of the Dutch Republic.⁹⁷ Strada was reprinted in 1667 and Bentivoglio in 1678.⁹⁸ The combination of political imperatives and commercial motives ensured the publication and re-editions of these English translations.

Conclusion

This case study has shown that the dynamics of the early modern book market influenced the movement of translations across linguistic, political and

96 *The History of the Warrs of Flanders*, A2.

97 William Aglionby, *The present state of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries as to the government, laws, forces, riches, manners, customes, revenue, and territory of the Dutch in three books* (London, John Starkey, 1669).

98 Famiano Strada, *The history of the Low-Countrey warres relating the battles, sieges, and sea-fights, betwixt the King of Spain, France, and the States of the United Netherlands* (London, Thompson, 1667) and Guido Bentivoglio, *History of the Wars of Flanders written in Italian* (London, Newman, 1678).

religious borders, and the ways in which the translators and publishers motivated the translation and publication. To discuss the publication of original works together with their respective translations is to focus on the dynamics of the early modern book trade. Translations have too often been studied separately from the publication pattern of the editions in the original language. Studying the publication of different editions of the original work is necessary because it puts into relief the choices printer-publishers made. Cnobbaert had already reissued several editions of Strada's history before publishing a Dutch translation. In reconstructing the migration of these three specific texts by Bentivoglio and Strada, it becomes apparent that actually very few publishers commissioned a translation. The majority of printer-publishers actually avoided taking risks and opted to reprint and edit the book. Their decisions were influenced by the areas of distribution and to a large extent also by political situations and changing geopolitical realities. The conclusion of hostilities in 1648 resulted in a surge of Latin publications of Strada's work in Amsterdam and Roeland de Carpentier published his Dutch translation of Bentivoglio's *Relationi*. In the case of English translations Moseley was an enterprising publisher who shared similar political sympathies and interests with the translators. The publishing houses in the Low countries, both Northern Dutch Republic and Habsburg Netherlands, played a key role in reprinting the texts in a variety of European vernaculars. Strada was published its original Latin edition, as well as the French, Dutch and Spanish translations in both regions. This case study has outlined the European dimensions of translations and the role of the book market.

Most prefaces reveal particular sensitivities surrounding the translation of Bentivoglio and Strada's work. The sensitivities are related to cultural and political issues rather than to religious ones. In just two cases, the translators slightly altered the translation to fit the expectations of their readers. In the case of the Spanish and Dutch translations, it was specifically the description of their 'national heroes', respectively the Duke of Alva and the prince of Orange, that was adapted. Few translators went as far as de Carpentier who substituted words his readers might have found offensive: the majority of publishers and translators just warned their readers in prefaces not to get annoyed. In England and the Dutch Republic both authors were simply excused for their use of particular language and for the sympathies they expressed. In the Dutch Republic the idea that even Catholic historians had been compelled to write about their epic struggle for liberty against the mighty Spanish empire was a good enough reason to translate their histories into Dutch. In the case of the Spanish translation by Varen, the translation was made to provide the Spanish

with heroic examples from their past. These different reasons reveal how these histories of the Dutch Revolt gained new meaning and significance in different geopolitical contexts. The prefaces demonstrate how these works were presented or advertised and how these histories were subsequently able to find a wide European audience and readership across linguistic, political and religious boundaries.

The Pike and the Printing Press: Military Handbooks and the Gentrification of the Early Modern Military Revolution

Mark R. Geldof

In 1579 the London printer Henry Bynneman released Thomas Digges' *An Arithmetically Militare Treatise, named Stratiticos*.¹ The book, based on the unpublished work of Digges' father, Leonard, was dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. In his dedication, Digges told the Earl of his concern that England's "warlike discipline" was "corrupted, ...fallen to ruine, and miserable servitude" and "extreme disorders growe in those armyes, where militare lawes, ordinances, have bene neglected," much to the ultimate hurt of Elizabeth's kingdom both at home and abroad.² This was a familiar thread of civic minded rhetoric, employed by Digges' contemporaries who were unconcerned with hyperbole.³ However, Digges added weight to his argument by reciting to his readers, the statements of experienced soldiers he had spoken to, about this martial distemper. Clearly, the classical models of discipline and order, which had for so long built the foundation of English armies, were no longer held in such high esteem. Warfare was fundamentally different now, thanks in no small part to the new technologies deployed on continental battlefields. The soldiers told Digges,

that the time was chaunged, that warres were altered, and the furie or ordinaunce suche, as all those Romane orders were mere toyes once to be talked of in these oure dayes: As though the heavens and elements had chaunged their natures, or men and weapons so altered, as no humaine reason might attaine to consider the difference.⁴

1 Thomas Digges, Leonard Digges, *An Arithmetically Militare Treatise, Named Stratiticos* (London, Henrie Bynneman, 1579).

2 Ibid., sig. Aii r–v. Quotes from this and other works have been silently altered in letter forms and capitalisation. Spelling and punctuation has been retained. Any other alterations are indicated in the notes.

3 Henry J. Webb, 'Thomas Digges, an Elizabethan Combat Historian', *Military Affairs*, 14 (1950), pp. 53–56.

4 Digges, *An Arithmetically Militare Treatise*, sig [Aiii r].

Digges did not share their rejection of the classical authorities; rather he wrote that the real value of classical, Roman tactical or strategic exemplars was their focus on military discipline and the education of soldiers in the arts and sciences of warfare. It was this intellectual foundation to Roman practice that was relevant to his contemporary readers and the deliberate and organised study of arms and the skills of soldiering were, for Digges, the secret to Rome's military success. Familiarity with military knowledge as an art or science, not parade-ground formalism, gave Rome its victories and the neglect of that knowledge, by generals and common soldiers, contributed to the Empire's final downfall.

Digges' remedy for the English decline of martial knowledge may appear unintuitive, considering that the bulk of the *Stratioticos* is a complex and not particularly accessible catalogue of mathematical and geometric formulas, proofs, and tables with abstract military applications, and not a drill manual or handbook of ideal practice for soldiers and officers. Digges did append a description of various military offices and a hypothetical model for an expeditionary force as a final piece of advice to his patron, a model that he hoped the Earl of Leicester would adopt for any campaigns he may command in the future, but this was secondary to the very technical purpose of the book.⁵ Late sixteenth-century military handbooks are not considered a particularly significant development in warfare or text-based education but they represent an important shift in English and European martial culture. Digges, and other gentleman authors, like him, represent a kind of *gentrification* of martial culture that was inherited, or appropriated, parts of noble or aristocratic society for themselves and the inclusion of the gentry in English and European warfare was enabled, in part, by the development of text-based education and an international community of gentry-authors who translated, adapted, and enlarged the genre of learned violence, to educate a new class of martial elites.

Henry J. Webb placed authors like Leonard Digges and his Elizabethan contemporaries like as Barnaby Riche, Thomas Churchyard, and Geoffrey Gates, squarely within a movement of military reform that was not driven by cultural change or exchange, but instead by technology. England's military, Webb wrote,

5 Stephen Johnston, 'Digges, Thomas (c.1546–1595)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009). Digges accompanied the 1585 expedition to the Low Countries as muster-master and trench-master where he struggled to implement some of his methods through the management of finances. His devotion to the Earl of Leicester resulted in two positive accounts of his leadership on campaign: *A briefe report of the militarie services done in the Low Countries, by the Erle of Leicester* (London, Arnold Hatfield for Gregory Seton, 1587) and *A breife and true report of the proceedings of the Earle of Leycester for the reliefe of the towne of Sluce* (London, Thomas Orwin, 1590).

“shed most of the medieval characteristics” that distinguished it from its European rivals. This change “was caused in part by the spate of military books and pamphlets [which appeared] during the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, a spate that was itself a natural result of warfare in an age rapidly discovering to what varied uses the printing press could be put.”⁶ Webb felt these books and pamphlets represented a new genre of educational literature that was made possible by the printing press and made necessary by rapid changes in military technology, tactics, and organisation. That technological determinism fit neatly into Michael Roberts’ theory that of an ‘early-modern military revolution’ which saw a fundamental change in how European nations raised and organised armies and fought wars.⁷ As armies grew in size and complexity, those who organised and commanded their constituent parts required special training and the fighting men themselves, equipped with special weapons like the pike and arquebus – weapons they had little familiarity with and no analogues in peace time – needed their own formal training. Text-based instruction seems like a logical development towards formal education in arms, and it was in this way that historians interpreted these handbooks. They were read as reflections of contemporary knowledge and practice – a snap-shot of current knowledge and philosophy. This interpretation also means that if English contemporaries were aware of certain military techniques or theories, we should expect to find them in their handbooks and their absence would suggest a lack of knowledge or ignorance. In this way, Webb argued that English authors were clearly behind European trends and English soldiers and military theorists must have been ignorant of many important developments at the time, because they did not appear in text until the last decades of the sixteenth century.⁸

6 Henry J. Webb, *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice* (Madison, WI., The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), pp. 3–4.

7 Roberts’ thesis, first published in 1956, is reproduced with a sample of the debate it has caused, in Clifford J. Rogers (ed.), *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Boulder, CO., Westview, 1995). See also criticism in Gunther E. Rothenberg, ‘Maurice of Nassau, Gustav Adolphus, Raimondo Montecuccoli, and the “Military Revolution” of the Seventeenth Century’, in Peter Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 32–63; Jeremy Black, *A Military Revolution?: Military Change and European Society 1550–1800* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Education, 1991); MacGregor Knox and Williamson Murray (eds.), *The Dynamics of Military Revolution, 1300–2050* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012).

8 This equivalency is rarely made explicit in the historiography of warfare, although the absence of text-based training interpreted as a lack of training in any form. See H. Kleinschmidt,

What Webb did not appreciate was how conservative martial literature was, as a genre, and they maintained a strong continuity with the manuscript traditions of martial culture. There were some developments in tactics and technology that appeared on European battlefields, such as the Swiss pike square that enjoyed periods of popularity and decline, before they ever appeared in print.⁹ Typically, it was only once new technologies and tactics appeared, and proved their superiority, did they influence the genre of martial literature. While Webb felt that Digges and other English authors of military handbooks helped to accelerate modernization and change in English military practices, print technology was more important in the spread new ideas, imported from the continent. English authors were not a significant part of that change and Webb did not see how they may have formed their own movement of social or intellectual change. Much like the soldiers Digges interviewed, Webb argued that English military reform was driven by technology, just as the changing face of war was changed by new weapons. It would be difficult to state the conclusion more forcefully than did J.F.C. Fuller when he wrote that “gunpowder changed the medieval way of life. The search for the perfection of firearms and of defence against them gave birth to a spirit of inquiry which soon embraced all things.”¹⁰

It is not easy to trace the development of a gentrified English martial culture through text because most studies of military handbooks and martial pedagogy pass over the earliest decades of print and the earlier manuscript circulation of theories and techniques. This is further obscured by the heavy political commentary, frequently found in the English handbooks. But this is itself a reflection of that gentrified martial culture, which was moving into an area of discourse that was no longer the private territory of the upper nobility. England's armies needed the non-noble gentry to organise, and fight its wars and this literature is part of that re-shaping of martial culture and identity. This image of a late sixteenth-century military revolution, driven in part by the printing press, is easy to sustain in the English context because there is so little evidence to the contrary. Authors of military handbooks in the period frequently make the

‘Using the Gun: Manual Drill and the Proliferation of Portable Firearms,’ *The Journal of Military History*, 63 (1999), pp. 601–630; Paul A. Jorgensen, ‘Alien Military Doctrine in Renaissance England,’ *Modern Language Quarterly*, 17 (1956), pp. 43–49.

9 Katherine A. Becker, ‘The Swiss Way of War: A Study on the Transmission and Continuity of Classical and Military Ideas and Practice in Medieval Europe’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, 2009).

10 Quoted in J.R. Hale, ‘Gunpowder and the Renaissance: An Essay in the History of Ideas,’ in *Renaissance War Studies* (London, Hambledon Press, 1983), p. 398.

argument themselves, that their work is a response to rapid and revolutionary changes in how wars were fought and that the information they provided was new, innovative, and in desperate need of adoption and support. This made the handbooks printed during Elizabeth's reign more polemical than technical and they are often particularly vocal about a perceived martial decline amongst England's nobility and gentry. This was a decline that many authors described as both material and intellectual.¹¹

Historians have largely followed the same path. C.G. Cruickshank has identified the roots of this martial decline in the middle years of the reign of Henry VIII, and when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, her inheritance included "little more than the withered remnant of a medieval military organization, which had to serve her in wars that were already becoming modern."¹² Lawrence Stone and Jeremy Goring made a further connection to the de-militarisation of the English nobility which the vocal, late-Elizabethan writers and military reformers, attempted to counter through their polemical books on martial knowledge and organization. According to Cruickshank, Goring, and others, it was only during the reign of James I that the practice of arms in England begins to follow the successful patterns of the rest of Europe.¹³ For these reasons, most studies of English martial literature and military handbooks start where the Tudor period ends. Barbara Donagan and David Lawrence have made careful study of English military handbooks from the start of the seventeenth century onwards, showing important links with the English Civil War but they saw little of interest before 1590.¹⁴ What was lacking in the earlier studies of English military developments in the sixteenth century was a consideration of the wider context of learned violence, and an awareness of continuities between the medieval and early-modern genres of martial literature. Cruickshank's negative

11 See in particular the study of this period in P.A. Jorgensen, 'Theoretical Views of War in Elizabethan England,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 13 (1952), pp. 469–481.

12 C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* 2nd ed. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 1.

13 C.G. Cruickshank, *Army Royal: Henry VIII's Invasion of France, 1513* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969); Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965); Jeremy Goring, 'Social Change and Military Decline in Tudor England,' *History*, 60 (1975), pp. 185–197. See also the counter-argument in Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).

14 Barbara Donagan, 'Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642,' *Past and Present*, 147 (1995), pp. 65–100; Barbara Donagan, *War in England, 1642–1649* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008); David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603–1645* (Leiden, Brill, 2009).

judgement of Tudor military practice has been re-evaluated by Paul Hammer, David Eltis, and James Raymond, who, in various ways, and to differing degrees of success, have argued that this picture of a backward martial culture, trapped in the medieval period, was not entirely accurate and that many of the differences between English and continental military practice are excusable for reasons other than an atrophied martial culture.¹⁵ Neil Younger has shown how the Elizabethan military organisation was an effective, if haphazard, hybrid of post-medieval social structures with an early form of centralized state-run administration – an English solution to an English problem.¹⁶ Eltis and Raymond gave some attention to the literature of martial culture, and military handbooks in particular, and were careful to distinguish the rhetoric from the pedagogy, but only in relation to questions of circulation and awareness of military trends. Luke MacMahon has argued that early Tudor armies were not the unprofessional, medieval, constructions that earlier historians have described and that concepts of modernization can be identified during the late 1490s in the way Henry VII organised for war.¹⁷ The continuity between the late-medieval English military landscape and the early-modern one is clearer when one studies the development of printed technical writing and practical shop-manuals, a genre that transitioned from manuscript to print rapidly, and with comparative ease.

Technical writing, particularly the *Kunstbuchlein*, shop-manuals, and books of secrets which developed as a textual genre during the late fourteenth century and spread rapidly, in Latin and vernacular forms, is an obscure topic for most military historians.¹⁸ They were, however, an early and profitable item for early printers and they are a genre that has strong parallels with military handbooks.

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- 15 Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002); David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, I.B. Tauris, 1998); James Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London, Tauris Academic Studies, 2007).
 - 16 Neil Younger, *War and Politics in the Elizabethan Counties* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2012).
 - 17 Luke MacMahon, 'Chivalry, Military Professionalism and the Early Tudor Army in Renaissance Europe: A Reassessment', in *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, edited by D.J.B. Trim (Leiden, Brill, 2003), pp. 183–212.
 - 18 The exception is manuscript and early print material on fortifications and gunpowder weaponry which has been the subject of detailed scholarship. An early, and influential, study is J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), and more recently Bert Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics* (Baltimore, MD., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Despite their name, books of secrets did not contain innovative or obscure knowledge. Rather they were a by-product of a rapidly growing population of craftsmen which the guild system, with its oral transmission of skill, could no longer accommodate.¹⁹ The increase in a literate population of craftsmen, in need of special knowledge for their craft, helped build the genre of technical writing and this same need can be identified in the development of new styles of military handbooks. If, as Eltis and Raymond argue, English practitioners of the military sciences were aware of contemporary trends in European warfare, before those trends appeared in print for English readers, then those later handbooks of military science, written by Digges, and others, were the product of the same social, economic, and cultural pressures that drove demand for shop-manuals and technical works on decorative arts, alchemy, and medicine. There is considerable overlap in the readership of these practical manuals and the gentle audience of early English print handbooks which parallels social changes in the structure of English martial culture.

The early years of printing are marked by conservatism in the choice of titles to bring to market.²⁰ This was no different with military texts. Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gherardus de Leempt of Utrecht were the first to bring Flavius Vegetius Renatus' fourth-century *Epitoma rei militaris*, into print in a 1473 Latin edition as a large, but unlovely, folio volume.²¹ Vegetius' compendium of late-Roman military advice, more commonly referred to, by medieval and early-modern readers, and authors, as *de re militari* – a title that, to confuse issues, was shared by many other military works – was one of the most popular secular classics of the medieval period and much of the familiar idiom of military rhetoric came from Vegetius and the vernacular translations which appeared as early as the thirteenth century. French adaptations by Jean de Mueng and

19 William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994). See also Elizabeth Tebeaux, 'Technical Writing in English Renaissance Shipwrightery: Breaching the Shoals of Orality', *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, 38 (2008), pp. 3–25, and Elspeth Whitney, *Paradise Restored: The Mechanical Arts from Antiquity Through the Thirteenth Century*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, v. 80, Pt. 1 (Philadelphia, PA., American Philosophical Society, 1990).

20 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT., Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 21–62.

21 Publicus Flavius Vegetius, *De re militari*, (Utrecht, Nicholaus Ketelaer & Gherardus de Leempt, 1473). While there is consensus for the date of imprint of 1473, some catalogues date it to 1474 and 75. See Philippe Richardot, *Végèce et La Culture Militaire Au Moyen Age: Ve-XVe Siècles, Bibliothèques Stratégique* (Paris, Institut de stratégie comparée, EPHE iv-Sorbonne, Economica, 1998). p 38.

Jean de Vignai enjoyed wide circulation amongst European readers and these editions appeared in print soon after the Latin.²² Medieval scholars were as fond of Vegetius as were the martial elites – mostly for his vocabulary and use of Latin prose – and it was those scholars who ensured that Vegetius was preserved and remained current and relevant, within learned circles.²³ Vegetius was quoted, and adapted, in conduct manuals, political treatises, and histories, written for Europe's ruling class and it was these collections and abstracts that formed most of their text-based instruction in warfare.²⁴ While there is ample evidence that the *Epitoma* was actively read and referenced by elites, and by later authors and scholars, securing its influence over various genres of secular literature for centuries, and that its language and conceptions of military virtue, noble service, and the place of military power in the ideal state, there is no consensus amongst modern historians, that it had any active influence over the practice of warfare.²⁵ Nevertheless, the status of Vegetius, as a familiar and well regarded classical authority, made it a logical choice for early printers keen to ensure a return on investment. This was certainly the motivation behind Ketelaer and de Leempt's choice of Vegetius. That they printed Vegetius before their editions of Plutarch, St Thomas Aquinas, and St Augustine, gives some indication of the company Vegetius shared as a literary and educational work.²⁶ Vegetius remained a popular choice for early printers such as Cologne printer Nicolaus Götz who brought out a Latin Vegetius in 1475.²⁷ In 1475–6, the

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- 22 Philippe Contamine, *La Guerre Au Moyen Age*, 5. éd. corrigée (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2001), pp. 354–356. The place of Vegetius in medieval and early-modern warfare, and elsewhere, is covered in detail by C.T Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011).
 - 23 Helen Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe 300–1500* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 17–20.
 - 24 Vegetius is prominent in political works and conduct books such as John of Salisbury's twelfth-century *Policraticus*, Giles of Rome's thirteenth-century *De regimine principum*, Christine de Pizan's early fifteenth-century *Le Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*, and many others. Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius*, pp. 251–269.
 - 25 For a selection of the debate see Charles R. Shrader, 'The Influence of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*', *Military Affairs*, 45 (1981), pp. 167–172; Bernard S. Bachrach, 'The Practical Use of Vegetius' *De Re Militari* During the Early Middle Ages', *The Historian*, 47 (1985), pp. 239–255; John Gillingham, 'Up With Orthodoxy!: In Defence of Vegetian Warfare', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 2 (2003), pp. 149–158; S. Anglo, 'Vegetius' *De Re Militari*: The Triumph of Mediocrity', *Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), pp. 247–267 and Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius*, pp. 329–348.
 - 26 Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius*, pp. 239–248.
 - 27 *De re militari* (Cologne, Nicolaus Götz, 1475).

Augsburg printer Johann Wiener released a vernacular German edition which had been prepared specifically for his press by Ludwig Hohenwang and was illustrated with sixty-three woodcut illustrations of siege engines, fortifications, and other works of military engineering.²⁸ Louis Symonel in Paris brought out a Latin edition in 1475.²⁹ Several more editions were issued by French printers before 1500, although the French edition printed for Antoine Vérard was not a new vernacular translation from classical editions but a version of Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*, re-titled to capitalize on the marketability of Vegetius.³⁰ Eucharius Silber's press in Rome followed a familiar medieval habit of combining Vegetius with other popular military works of Frontinus, Aelian, and Modestus, into a single volume, printed in 1487. Print editions of Vegetius were frequently accompanied by the first-century text on leadership by the Greek philosopher Onasander, and the seventh-century Christian Modestus who, along with Frontinus, became almost as popular as Vegetius himself.³¹ Modestus' first appearance in print was the 1474 collection from the Venetian printers Bartholomaeus Cremonensis and Bartholomaeus de Carlo Vercellensis.³² A collection of the military anecdotes of Frontinus, also popular in manuscript for the last two centuries, appeared in its own print volume as early as 1487.³³ The classics did not entirely dominate the military output of the press, however. More recent works like Roberto Valturio's *de re militari*, composed in the 1470s, making a study of Greek and Roman fortifications, siege-craft, and military engineering, pre-dated the first appearance of Vegetius in print, when it was issued by the Verona print shop of Johann Nicolai in 1472.³⁴ Valturio's text had the added appeal of woodcut illustrations, created in much the same spirit as

28 *Kurze Verweissung von Der Ritterschaft* (Augsburg, Johann Wiener, 1475). This edition is notable as the first vernacular edition of Vegetius, without a manuscript tradition. See Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius* pp. 239–241.

29 *De re militari* (Paris, Louis Symonel, 1475). Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius*, p. 242, dates this edition to 1476 or 'certainly before 1479.'

30 *L'art de chevalerie selon Végèce* (Paris, Antoine Caillaut for Antoine Vérard, 1488).

31 Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius*, p. 242. C.J. Smith, 'Onasander on How to Be a General', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 42 S71 (1998), pp. 151–166. Silber's editions include *De re militari (De vocabulis rei militaris)* (Rome, Eucharius Silber, 7 June 1487) and *Scriptores rei militaris* (Rome, 1494).

32 *De re militari. Pomponius Laetus: De magistratibus urbis; De sacerdotiis; De legibus. Suetonius: De grammaticis et rhetoribus* (Venice, Bartholomaeus Cremonensis & Bartholomaeus de Carlo Vercellensis, 27 May 1474).

33 Sextus Julius Frontinus, *Strategematicon liber* (Rome, Eucharius Silber, 1 June 1487).

34 Robertus Valturius, *De re militari* (Verona, Johannes Nicolai de Verona, 1472).

those that later appeared in the Vegetius of Hohenwang. Jean de Bueil's semi-autobiographical *Le jouvencel*, written in the late fourteenth century seems an unlikely military handbook but it was often read as a mirror of martial virtue and practice, within the abstract genre of learned violence, and Vérard printed the first edition in 1493.³⁵

When compared to their continental counterparts, English printers were slow in producing the same selection of Latin and vernacular editions of military classics, preferring instead to concentrate on more accessible vernacular texts on a variety of historical or educational themes. That is not to say that the classics such as Vegetius were unfamiliar to English noble readers, only that they did not transition from manuscript to print promptly. Early English printing focused on translations from the French, already familiar to gentry and noble readers such as William Caxton's 1489 translation of Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*, which appeared as *The table of the rubryshys of the boke of the fayt of armes and of chyvalrye whiche sayd boke is departyd in to foure partyes*. Pizan was a safe choice and fit nicely with Caxton's backlist which included Ramon Llull's *The book of the ordre of chivalry or knyghthode* (1484) and other popular books of courtesy by English and French authors. The romances and histories were indirect sources of martial education which taught readers social values as well as martial anecdotes in a manner they were familiar with from manuscript texts.³⁶ Histories and romances were a popular source of military theory and practice and Caxton printed a translation of Raoul Le Fèvre's history of the siege of Troy while he was still at Bruges, a reflection of its popularity both in England and abroad.³⁷ Other popular titles to appear from early English printing presses include the *Policronicon*

35 C.T. Allmand, 'Entre Honneur et Bien Commun: Le Témoignage Du Jouvencel Àu XVe Siècle', *Revue Historique*, 301 (1999), pp. 463–481, Jean de Bueil, *Le jouvencel* (Paris, Antoine Vérard, 1493). On the popularity of military memoirs as a source of martial education and a medium for transmitting knowledge amongst socially elite readers, see Yuval N. Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450–1600* (Rochester, NY., Boydell Press, 2004).

36 Courtesy books include *The book of curtesye* (1477), Jacques Legrand, *The book of good maners* (1487) and Geoffroy de La Tour Landry, *The booke which the knyght of the toure made and speket of many fayre ensamples and thensygnementys and techyng of his dough-ters* (1487). On Caxton's choice of historical and chivalric literature see Thomas Crofts, *Malory's Contemporary Audience: The Social Reading of Romance in Late Medieval England*, *Arthurian Studies* (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 31–45.

37 *Here begynneth the volume intituled and named the recuyell of the historyes of Troye* (Bruges, William Caxton, 1473).

of Ranulf Higden and the life of Guy of Warwick.³⁸ While this early stage of English printing appears to be largely market driven, the crown made efforts to use print to educate the commanders of its own armies. London printer Richard Pynson was commissioned to print a short booklet of military statutes in 1492 which were bought by the crown and delivered “unto the capitaignes of his hooste.”³⁹ Some gentry readers, not directly connected to Henry VI’s military organisation, still sought copies and William Paston, of the familiar family of medieval letter writers, had the royal arms and badges in his copy painted and decorated at some cost.⁴⁰

Still, English printers were slow to produce editions of the popular military classics in Latin or vernacular editions until the early decades of the sixteenth-century. However, as Fred Schurink has demonstrated, English readers, and printers, were far from ignorant of these works, and rather than just re-issue editions already available from continental printers, they developed or adapted texts to suit the English market.⁴¹ By the middle of the century English printers had produced their own versions of Vegetius and many of the newer military handbooks and theoretical treatises including Roman histories and more recent works on political theory and civic participation and personal conduct and noble behaviour.⁴² There were in all of this continuity some innovations but they are not readily apparent from our focus on theoretical or technical works on warfare. There were some forms of martial knowledge that did not easily or naturally transition from oral means of transmission into text-based instruction. What is conspicuously absent from early printed military handbooks, regardless of where or when they were produced, was detailed discussion of what we would typically expect from a manual of martial knowledge – the

38 *Policricon* (Westminster, Wynkyn Worde, 1495) and *The history of Guy of Warwick* [Westminster, Wynken de Worde, 1497].

39 *Certayn statutes and ordenaunces of warre* [...] (London, Richard Pynson, 1492). For the quotation, see Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond, eds. *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, Part III*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 22.

40 Richard Beadle and Lotte Hellinga, ‘William Paston II and Pynson’s Statutes of War (1492)’, *The Library*, 2 (2), (2001), pp. 107–119.

41 Fred Schurink, ‘War, What Is It Good For? Sixteenth-Century English Translations of Ancient Roman Texts on Warfare’, in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, edited by S.K. Barker and B.M. Hosington (Leiden, Brill, 2013), pp. 121–138.

42 The first English edition of Vegetius printed in England is Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *The foure bookes contayninge a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of martiall policie, feates of chivalrie, and whatsoever pertayneth to warre*, translated by Richard Sadler (London, Thomas Marsh, 1572).

use of weapons and individual combat techniques. Such works had already appeared in manuscript, intermittently before the mid-fifteenth century, and in increasing numbers, well into the 1500s. Most illustrated manuals on swordsmanship, wrestling, and other combat skills, appeared in German-speaking areas and a few examples from the Italian states survive from the early fifteenth century.⁴³ Nothing appeared in print before the 1509 *Exercitiorum arque artis militaris collectanea* of Pietro Monte, which was not particularly practical for students of swordsmanship.⁴⁴ For the most part, manuscript and print works on swordsmanship and other combat skills were luxury texts created for a small audience of patrons by specialised sword-masters who had access to skilled illustrators. They were also closely connected with the continental princes and dukes who were the primary employers of semi-professional soldiers and instructors like Paulus Kal or Fiore die Liberi, who joined noble households. Fight-texts were also produced by, and for, the increasingly militarised urban readers in the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁵ There was no comparable group of specialists, or patrons or readers, at the same time in England. As a result, the earliest English language books on swordsmanship and the handling of weapons first appeared as translations of Continental texts focused on the use of arms in individual duels. The first fencing text by an English author was that of George Silver, a London gentleman, who may have been an informal instructor, who wrote largely in hopes of displacing the Italianate styles that he felt were dangerous and reckless. Silver's readership was, no doubt, very

43 The German-language texts are described in comprehensive detail in Rainer Leng (ed.), *Katalogue Der Deutschsprachigen Illustrierten Handschriften Des Mittelalters: Band 4/2, Lieferung 1/2*, 38. *Fecht- Und Ringbücher* (Munich, Kommission für Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, 2008). See also S. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, CT., Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 125–130.

44 Pietro Monti, *Exercitiorum atque artis militaris collectanea in tres* (Milan, Giovanni Giacomo & fratres, Da Legnano Giovanni Angelo Scinzenzeler, 1509). S. Anglo, 'The Man Who Taught Leonardo Darts: Pietro Monte and His "Lost" Fencing Book', *Antiquaries Journal*, 69 (1989), pp. 261–278; S. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 2000), p. 322, mentions two earlier books (by Jayme Pons de Perpinan and Pedro de la Torre) which early histories of fencing date to 1474, but for which there is no evidence that they were printed, and not manuscript text.

45 For the social contexts of early fencing masters, see Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, pp. 7–39. The unique conditions for German fight-texts is less well known, but important studies that form a basis for future work include B.A. Tlusty, *The Martial Ethic in Early Modern Germany: Civic Duty and the Rights of Arms*, *Early Modern History: Society and Culture* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), and Daniel Jaquet, 'Fighting in the Fightschools', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 1 (2013), pp. 47–66.

small but his work shows that there was, by this time, a kind of discourse community of gentry practitioners and readers, who could support a modest market for printed texts.⁴⁶

Military engineering, which often required extensive illustration, did not transfer into print very quickly either. Texts on gunpowder weaponry and ballistics were particularly rare and early examples show authors struggling to explain the behaviour of projectiles and trajectories, without fully understanding how or why they behaved as they did. In this respect, explaining the function of military technologies through texts was slow to catch up with the use of those technologies on the battlefield.⁴⁷ Like swordsmanship, military engineering was something one learned first-hand and the tools needed to transfer that knowledge into text and illustration were slow to develop and slow to spread. Barriers to text-based transmission was not exclusively practical, they were also conceptual. Vegetius presented his advice within the Aristotelian model of education which gave precedence to knowledge gained *via rationis*, principles and rules derived by rational thought. This was in contrast to knowledge gained by experience and observation which, by itself, was insufficient grounds for determining truth. Military knowledge was therefore considered to be rational and intellectual, and that conception shaped the text-based pedagogy.⁴⁸ The physical aspects of warfare, the skills necessary for the performance of armed conflict, were kept at a distance from the rational, and either excluded from text-based instruction or isolated in different genres. This segregation of the rational from the practical or experiential, was common to

46 The earliest fencing manuals in English is Giacomo Grassi, *True arte of defence plainlie teaching by infallable demonstrations, apt figures and perfect rules the manner and forme how a man without other teacher or master may safelie handle all sortes of weapons aswell offensive as defensive*, translated by Thomas Churchyard (London, Richard Tottell for John Jaggard, 1594). This was followed by Vincentio Saviolo, *Vincentio Saviolo his practise In two bookes. The first intreating of the use of the rapier and dagger. The second, of honor and honorable quarrels* (London, Thomas Scarlet for John Wolfe, 1595). This was an adaptation and translation of work originally published in Italian but may have been ghost written by Italian emigres in London; see Sergio Rossi, 'Vincentio Saviolo His Practice (1595): A Problem of Authorship', in *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp*, edited by Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell, 1990), pp. 165–175. Written partly in response to Saviolo is George Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence...* (London, Edward Blount, 1599).

47 Seán M. Stewart, 'On the Trajectories of Projectiles Depicted in Early Ballistic Woodcuts,' *European Journal of Physics*, 33 (2012), pp. 149–166.

48 Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius*, pp. 254–256. Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, pp. 38–90; George Ovitt Jr., 'The Status of the Mechanical Arts in Medieval Classifications of Learning', *Viator*, 14 (1983), pp. 89–105.

other disciplines, notably medicine and the natural sciences. This did not mean that readers were limited to practical or rational sources, only that the texts themselves were careful not to blur the areas together in the same work, although it could discourage writers from recording their practical knowledge in the form of text.⁴⁹ This distinction had implications for the kind of text-strategies that authors employed. The rational principles of Vegetius were presented as 'declarative knowledge', while the fight-books and shop-manuals used strategies for 'procedural knowledge', which were often only slightly altered forms of oral communication, with little or no theoretical or conceptual content. Procedural knowledge, often idiosyncratic and individual in style and form, was unlikely to appeal to early printers.⁵⁰ However, the division between the rational and the experiential lost some of its power early in the sixteenth century as writers began to engage more closely, and more critically, with the classics.

Another less obvious but equally significant barrier to more practical works of martial knowledge was the identification of prowess in arms with moral virtue. Medieval chivalry was a complex collection of social, religious, economic, and legal norms and members of Europe's martial elites were careful to preserve their special status. This created a distinction between those who fought for pay and those who fought because it was part of their social identity. This meant that the writers of chivalric romances, biographies, and conduct books were reluctant to give too much attention to practice and training since doing so would give the lie to prowess as an innate quality of gentle blood.⁵¹ Skill in arms was transmitted outside of text, in a way that integrated it into a lifestyle and there was little incentive for its textualisation. However, as the martial lifestyle changed, as it did for English nobles and gentry in the sixteenth century, the genre of martial literature changed as well. This corresponds with the appearance of authors like Digges – men who were not scholarly or noble, but based their authority as specialists on their knowledge of the classics and practical experience in the field. However, those author-practitioners did

49 Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, pp. 93–132.

50 Perhaps the most frustrating examples of procedural instruction in martial skill are the English manuscripts containing lessons on swordsmanship using a pedagogical style so unlike their continental contemporaries that they more closely resemble dance choreographies than fencing lessons. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, pp. 120–121; M.R. Geldof, 'Strokes of Ij Hand Swerde: A Brief Instruction in the Use of Personal Arms', *Opuscula: Short Texts From the Middle-Ages and Renaissance*, 1 (2011), pp. 1–9.

51 See in particular Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 7, and S. Anglo, 'How to Win at Tournaments: The Technique of Chivalric Combat', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 68 (1988), pp. 248–264.

not appear until the textual pedagogy of warfare, and noble service, had changed enough that they could be accommodated. That change was made possible through the exposure of English readers to continental trends in martial literature.

Niccolò Machiavelli's reputation as an innovative, if ruthless, political theorist is secure but he is rarely given much credit as a military thinker. His *Libro della arte della guerra*, first printed in 1521 by Florentine printer Filippo Giunti, has suffered at the hands of military historians for what they perceive to be the author's inexplicable neglect of gunpowder weaponry.⁵² The popularity of the text after its first publication – twenty-four editions in various languages before 1600 – is considered incidental and the fact that hardly any of Machiavelli's contemporaries spent much time or space in their works on gunpowder, either, is considered irrelevant.⁵³ The grounds for that criticism, a criticism other authors are often spared, is Machiavelli's close proximity, and thus familiarity, with recent events which, to modern military historians, unambiguously proved the value of gunpowder weapons, modern ballistic fortifications, and the obsolescence of the pike in infantry warfare, developments he must have been aware of. Timothy Kubik has studied this criticism within the context of Machiavelli's stated aims and points out that the real value of the *Art of War* rests in the author's invitation to his readers to hear his thoughts, and judge them for themselves, not the specifics of his arguments for or against one tactic, or technology.⁵⁴ This invitation to dialogue – a fundamentally different pedagogical approach to instruction – was new to the genre of military literature, as was Machiavelli's handling of the classical sources. Drawing from his study of Livy's history of Rome, and drawing explicit comparisons with contemporary military operations, organisations, training, command, and recruitment, Machiavelli avoided the declarative strategies typically used in military literature and instead applied rational methods to historical examples. The

52 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Libro della arte della guerra di Niccolo Machiavegli cittadino et segretario fiorentino* (Florence, Filippo I Giunta, 1521). Editions would quickly appear in French, collected with Onasander in *L'art de la guerre*, translated by Jean Charrier (Paris, Jean Barbé, 1546), and in English as *The arte of warre*, translated by Peter Whitehorne (London, John Kingston for Nicholas England, London, 1562).

53 These include recent works by Cipriano Benet, *De fortitudine animi et perfecta arte militari* [Rome, Etienne Guillery, 1518]; Rémi Rousseau, *Les ruses et cautelles de guerre* (Paris, Jean Jehannot, [1521]).

54 T.R.W. Kubik, 'Is Machiavelli's Canon Spiked? Practical Reading in Military History', *The Journal of Military History*, 61 (1997), pp. 7–30. See also Ben Cassidy, 'Machiavelli and the Ideology of the Offensive: Gunpowder Weapons in The Art of War', *The Journal of Military History*, 67 (2003), pp. 381–404.

armies of Rome were no longer models of perfect practice but case studies that had to be dissected and analysed in comparison to the reader's own time and experiences. The book was "an invitation to debate" rather than an attempt at "scientific generalization."⁵⁵ Machiavelli's continued support of the pike as an effective weapon system makes more sense, given this context. The pike, and the dense squares of infantry that used them, were first developed and used with great success in the late fourteenth century by the various members of the Swiss Confederation. This system worked because it made the individual soldier part of a cohesive, mobile, and powerful unit which could withstand the attacks of more traditional, but less disciplined, infantry and cavalry tactics. Swiss pikemen, and the pike square, were a dominant military force in the fifteenth century, particularly during the wars between France, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Italian states. However, the 1515 Battle of Marignano marked the end of Swiss dominance amongst the military entrepreneurs of the early-modern period and Machiavelli's advocacy of this system for the Florentine militia is hard to understand.⁵⁶

What appealed to Machiavelli was not the weapon itself, or the tactics that the Swiss adapted the pike for. It was the social structure of the Swiss armies, and the pike-square in particular, that gave Machiavelli a contemporary example of a civic-minded military infrastructure. Warfare, for Vegetius, Machiavelli, and most every other writer in between, was inseparable from political theory and moral values. Machiavelli saw, in the Swiss model, a way to return Florentine civic values to something more closely resembling the Roman state army.⁵⁷ Vegetius may have contained similar arguments about the relationship of military service with the state, but that message was lost against the background of elite martial culture that equated prowess with moral virtue and moral virtue with noble birth. Machiavelli, freed somewhat from this medieval set of martial values by humanist methodologies, could argue for a more inclusive martial culture, one that made all combatants part of a shared set of values. The ideal qualities of new recruits were always a feature of military literature but Machiavelli's treatment spent more time on the civic virtues of potential soldiers and somewhat less on their physical attributes.⁵⁸ It is also worth keeping in mind that the pike, and the Swiss system of the pike-square, had not been part of the textual discourse on military theory to any great degree.

55 Kubik, 'Practical Reading in Military History' p. 8.

56 Parrott, *The Business of War*, pp. 46–70.

57 Kubik, 'Practical Reading in Military History', pp. 18–30.

58 In particular, Fabrizio's discourse of recruitment and drill in Book 1, Niccolò Machiavelli, *Art of War*, ed. Christopher Lynch (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 26–30.

Knowledge of this system, the steps necessary in training its soldiers, or guiding its captains, spread through the informal network of military practitioners by oral transmission. The pike was not something you learned how to use from text. Because the pike developed independently of text-based education, there was no ongoing dialogue about its relative effectiveness or its declining fortunes to challenge Machiavelli's confidence in its continued relevance.

When Machiavelli described his model militia he was probably not thinking of it in terms of militarised gentry or a gentrified military, and certainly not a kind of democratisation of warfare. Rather he envisioned an altered structure of martial values, one that did not, automatically, give elites a privileged claim to military prowess, although it did accept that they retained a natural status as leaders. The English civil servant, educator, and author Roger Ascham was not thinking of a gentrified martial culture either when he wrote his *Toxophilus*, a practical and philosophical dialogue on archery first published in 1545, but he did argue forcefully in favour of a broadly-based set of martial values which he felt were essential for England's future security.⁵⁹ England's national pride in its archers began with the Hundred Years War, which involved successive English kings in an intermittent war with the French crown which began in the 1330s and did not end until 1453, during the reign of Henry VI. The English archer, and his longbow, became a part of martial mythology, a figure with a status that was entirely out of proportion to its practical value on the battlefield.⁶⁰ Maintaining a stock of trained longbowmen was nevertheless considered so important that archery practice was added to parliamentary statutes concerning the maintenance of able-bodied men and arms, in times of need, as early as 1363. This was regularly revised and repeated in legislation well into the reign of Henry VIII.⁶¹ Military historians have pointed to the longbow, and Ascham's support for its continued use in Tudor armies, as another part of the medieval baggage, holding back military reform.⁶² There may be some truth in

59 *Toxophilus the schole of shootinge contayned in two bookes. To all gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastyme to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in war and peace* (London, Edward Whitchurch, 1545).

60 While there is no question of the status of the longbow in English military mythology, its value as a weapon system remains a point of vigorous debate. See K. DeVries, 'Catapults Are Not Atomic Bombs: Towards a Redefinition of "Effectiveness" in Premodern Military Technology', *War in History*, 4 (1997), pp. 454–470, and C.J. Rogers, 'The Efficacy of the English Longbow: A Reply to Kelly DeVries', *War in History*, 5 (1998), pp. 233–242.

61 Steven Gunn, 'Archery Practice in Early Tudor England', *Past & Present*, 209 (2010), pp. 53–81.

62 Gervase Philips, 'Longbow and Hackbutt: Weapons Technology and Technology Transfer in Early Modern England', *Technology and Culture*, 40 (1999), pp. 576–593: 15.

this, but the basis for Aschem's advocacy is not entirely tactical. Aschem identified the longbow as the national weapon of the English, one which would maintain their martial pride and civic health, in much the same way that Machivelli imagined the value of the pike. Whatever the specific arguments he marshalled in support of the longbow as a weapon, it is his treatment of the communal nature of practicing the bow which is significant for the gentrification of martial culture. In the medieval hierarchy of warfare, the archer was distinct from the good men-at-arms. No matter how talented, learned or experienced in the practice of arms, the archer was not part of the martial elite. However, Aschem's remarks in the *Toxophilus* demonstrate that this exclusion of the common soldier from martial culture was starting to breakdown, at least amongst the middle-gentry that constituted Aschem's audience. It was around this time that the literature of noble and elite culture began to emphasis service, and a civic-minded militarism, rather than individual prowess, as a vital element in England's continued security at home and abroad. A lack of interest in archery became a mark of moral decline, much in the same way that prowess was a mark of virtue in the chivalric martial ethos.

Aschem's goal was more complex than an argument for a gentrified martial class, but he was certainly not arguing alone. A more explicit example of martial gentrification, is the manuscript handbook of Thomas Audley's *Booke of Orders for the Warre both by Sea and Land*, which was written during the late 1540s and which survives in three manuscript variants.⁶³ Audley's background is obscure. British Library MS Additional 41295 T identifies the author as "Lieutenant of the Lower Town of Boulogne and Gentleman Usher" whom Raymond identifies as the Thomas Audley who was captain of Guisnes castle in the Calais Pale in 1544.⁶⁴ Whatever his background, Audley had extensive military experience from which he drew inspiration for his text, but he took pains in his introduction to readers in stressing his learning and rational reflection on the practice of war. While Audley drew heavily from the familiar language of classical military theory, he was free of any concern over that pedagogical division that separated the rational or philosophical knowledge from the experiential or practical. Audley set his text squarely in the contemporary experience of continental warfare using semi-professional armies, led by the

63 Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, p. 16, ascribes all three copies to Audley while Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution*, p. 181, singles out one version, called text B, as the work of someone else.

64 f. 118. The other manuscripts attributed to Audley are London, British Library Add. MS. 23971, Lansdowne 181 ff. 15–26v, Cotton MS Titus B v, ff. 39–52, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 103 and Bodleian MS. Rawlinson D. 363.

traditional leaders of the nobility but run by a semi-professional, gentry class of soldier who combined text-based learning with practical experience. English printers remained conservative well into the sixteenth century, preferring to stay with the reliable classics, although they were more often presented in English translation, but Audley's manuscript shows a thorough awareness of contemporary practice, and a willingness to share that knowledge through the medium of text. In fact, Audley's only real concern was that he was an unlikely author, not that he lacked the skill to teach.⁶⁵ Another unlikely author from this martial gentry was Henry Barrett, an experienced soldier who wrote his own handbook, probably with the intention of having it printed, which focused on the practical drill and order of troops in contemporary warfare.⁶⁶ English printers were slower to add these practical texts to their stock but they did increasingly produce accessible translations of classical works and translations of more recent French and Spanish manuals.⁶⁷ By the time Digges began to write, there were many more handbooks of this type which represented a considerable accomplishment by authors that Paul Jorgensen has described as "meagerly literate soldiers and patriotic translators."⁶⁸

One would never call Peter Whitehorne "meagerly literate" considering his earliest work was a translation and adaptation of the Greek philosopher Onasander's handbook of military practice, printed in 1563.⁶⁹ Whitehorne told his readers that he translated the work from the Italian in order to better master the language and because he enjoyed "studyng the arte of war."⁷⁰ It is fitting then that he also translated Machiavelli's *Art of War*, which was printed by

65 Audley's text, probably based on the Lansdowne and Cotton editions, was published first in W. St. P. Bunbury, (ed.), 'A Treatise on the Art of War by Thomas Audley', *Journal of the Society of Army Research* (1927) and was reprinted, with an introduction by Jonathan Davies, as *Thomas Audley and the Tudor 'Arte of Warre'* (Farnham, The Pike and Shot Society, 2002).

66 This is now Washington DC, Folger Library, MS V a 455. See also J.R. Hale, 'On a Tudor Parade Ground: The Captain's Handbook of Henry Barrett 1562', in *Renaissance War Studies* (London, Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 241–290.

67 Schurink, 'War, What is it Good For?' Some early translations and anonymous manuals include Jacopo di conte Porcia, *The preceptes of warre* (London, Edward Whitchurch, 1544). Also the anonymous *The ordre or trayne of warre, that a prynce, or a heed capytayne, ought to take, that wyll conquere, or assege a place, or kepe or defende a place, where he dowlth to be assayled in his owne countree, or to marche or travers the countree of his enemyes or to make gwerre gwerreable* ([London, Robert Wyer for John Gough, 1540]).

68 Jorgensen, 'Alien Military Doctrine', p. 43.

69 Onasander, *Onosandro Platonico, of the generall capitaine, and of his office* (London, William Seres, 1563).

70 Schurink, "War, What is it Good For?" p. 131.

John Kingston in 1562.⁷¹ The first English edition of Vegetius was not, however, the product of a soldier-scholar like Whitehorne, but instead that of school-master John Sadler.⁷² Never the less, Sadler's edition of Vegetius represents a genre of scholarly martial literature, dedicated to noble patrons but clearly intended for a gentry readership. The men who read Sadler and Whitehorne, Riche and Digges, were the same men who, as Roger Manning has shown, made up the new non-noble military class in late-Elizabethan England and it was these same men who sought out military experiences and adventure, as well as special knowledge, and brought it back with them.⁷³ The reason why the English military system appears so outdated at this time is because its process of modernisation was not, and never really was, a movement driven by the institutions of the crown or the state. Instead, England's military revolution, if one can call it that, began with the non-noble gentry who had always felt themselves part of a wider martial culture, and it was these men that spread new knowledge and practice, through the medium of print, and not because of it.

That pedagogical change in martial culture is still difficult to identify but it is found in some unlikely places. Thomas Digges mathematical training was helped by his contacts with John Dee, the archetypical Elizabethan magus. Dee is an unlikely witness to the gentrification of English martial culture. He recorded some of that process, particularly the textualisation of martial knowledge and its effect on elite values, in a curious anecdote about John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and son of the elder John, Duke of Northumberland. In 1570, John Daye printed the first English edition of Euclid's *Elementa Geometriae*, translated from the Greek by Henry Billingsley with Dee providing the preface.⁷⁴ Dee wrote with a broad rhetorical purpose, intent on showing readers the practical value of mathematical sciences. To do this, Dee recalled his brief time in the household of Edward VI, where he tutored the Duke of Northumberland's sons. John, Earl of Warwick, was the Duke's eldest surviving son and while his biography describes an irresponsible and imprudent courtier, Dee's preface to Euclid describes a young man with a deep appreciation for

71 *The arte of warre*, (London, John Kingston for Nicholas England, 1562).

72 Publicus Flavius Vegetius Renatus *The foure bookes contayninge a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of martiall policye, feates of chivalrie, and whatsoever pertayneth to warre* (London, Thomas Marsh, 1572). On Salder, see Schurink, "War, What is it Good For?" pp. 134–135, and Allmand, *Vegetius*, p. 246.

73 Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).

74 Euclid, *The elements of geometrie of the most auncient philosopher Euclide of Megara* [...] trans. H. Billingsley, ed. John Dee (London, John Daye, 1570).

the science of arms.⁷⁵ Warfare, Dee reminded his readers, was an “art so much dependeth uppon numbers use, and the mathematical” that a solid grasp of Euclid’s principles was essential. The young Earl, admirable for “his lusty valiantnes, force, and skill in Chivalrous feats and exercises” understood this, and went to some lengths to learn this special knowledge.⁷⁶ Dee wrote that the young Earl:

by one of his actes did disclose his harty love to vertuous Sciences: and his noble intent, to excell in martiall prowesse: When he, with humble request, and instant solliciting: got the best rules (either in time past by Greke or Romaine, or in our time used: and new stratagemes therin devised) for ordning of all companies, summes and numbers of men, (many, or few) with one kinde of weapon, or more, appointed: with artillery, or without: on horsebacke, or on fote: to give, or take onset: to seem many, being few: to seem few, being many. To marche in battaile or jorney: with many such feates, to foughten field, skarmoush, or ambushe appartaining: And of all these, lively designementes (most curiously) to be in velame parchement described: with notes & peculier markes, as the arte requireth: and all these rules, and descriptions arithmetically, inclosed in a riche case of gold, he used to weare about his necke: as his juell most precious, and counsaylour most trusty. Thus, Arithmetike, of him, was shryned in gold: Of Numbers frute, he had good hope.⁷⁷

The Earl died in 1554, only a day after his release from the Tower of London in the aftermath of Northumberland’s downfall and Queen Mary’s succession. The Earl’s little book does not appear to have survived, if it ever existed and there is no evidence of the Earl’s martial reading in his surviving inventory of books, but what Dee described is not unlikely.⁷⁸ Dee held this book, and the Earl’s motivations, as an example of scientific triumph over medieval superstitions, proof of the young Earl’s acknowledgement that success in war came from careful study and the application of the sciences. Patricia Cahill read this

75 David Loades, ‘Dudley, John. duke of Northumberland (1504–1553)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004). Dee joined the royal household in 1551 through the influence of John Cheke and the support of William Cecil. Stephen Pumfrey, ‘The Patronage of a Natural Philosopher in Tudor England’, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 43 (2012), pp. 454.

76 Euclid, sig [ai v].

77 Ibid., sig [ai v–aai r].

78 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Add. C 94, ff. 13–14.

anecdote as a sign that military mathematics were so obscure to the very medieval-sounding Earl that its text became a sort of fetish, suitable only as a symbolic representation of his martial devotions.⁷⁹ Placed in the context in which Audley, Barrett, and others worked, the Earl's book takes on a slightly different significance. Text-based martial education was now more than a supplement to a military education, it was essential, and displaying that textualised martial knowledge was part of the process of re-ordering of English martial values. Experience and gentle birth did not make a soldier, learning, discussion, and debate, made soldiers fit for service. This was, increasingly, part of the English martial culture and it was this movement towards practical knowledge, and its dissemination in print, that allowed writers like Whitehorne, Digges, and Sadler, to spread imported and adapted works of military science.

By the close of the sixteenth century, this re-ordering of martial values was more or less fully integrated into the discourse on warfare. Another example of a gentrified martial culture appears in the notes of author and scholar Gabriel Harvey, who in 1590 debated the tactics and strategies from the classics with a mixed audience of soldiers and civil servants.⁸⁰ Amongst them was Sir John Smythe, the author of a military handbook that was promptly banned for its unrestrained political criticism.⁸¹ Also present was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who would soon take up a military command in Ireland. Harvey, Smythe, and Gilbert engaged in a discourse that Machiavelli had invited his readers to decades earlier, and there was no novelty in this for these experienced, militarised, gentry. Warfare had always enjoyed a special intellectual status but until the later sixteenth century, it was not common knowledge and certainly not something on which one would engage in inquisitive debate. This was the peaceful manifestation of the gentrification of martial culture and its textualisation of military knowledge.

79 Patricia A. Cahill, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 25–26.

80 L. Jardine and A. Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy", *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 40–42.

81 *Certain discourses concerning the formes and effects of divers sorts of weapons, and other verie important matters militarie, greatlie mistaken by divers of our men of warre in these daies; and chiefly, of the mosquet, the caliver and the long-bow* (London, Thomas Orwin for Richard Jones, 1590). Edited in John Smythe, *Certain Discourses Military*, ed. J.R. Hale (Ithaca, NY, Folger Shakespeare Library, Cornell University Press, 1964).

PART 3

Libraries, Collections, Ownership



How to Build a Library across Early Modern Europe: The Network of Claude Expilly*

Shanti Graheli

Quelque temps apres, les guerres Civiles s'estant furieusement allumées au milieu.... Expilly que l'amour de ses Liures & la crainte de les perdre y retenoit, resolut de n'en bouger, s'accomodant au party qui y estoit alors le plus fort...

CATILHON, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly*, pp. 34–35

A Man and His Library

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Wars of Religion tore through the south of France, with the region of Dauphiné a principal theatre. In the second half of the 1580s, Henri of Navarre's forces marched through the region, commanded by Navarre's loyal lieutenant, François de Bonne de Lesdiguières. By 1589, the towns of Gap, Embrun, Tallard and Chorges had all fallen to Lesdiguières's army. Grenoble itself was spared at first, shielded by an eighteen-month truce. This came to an end in November 1590, by which time Henri of Navarre had become King Henri IV, but the consuls of Grenoble still refused to surrender. The town resisted a siege until 22 December 1590, when a breach was made into its defences, and it finally fell.¹

In the unfolding of these affairs, Claude Expilly sought to involve himself as little as possible. At the time of the siege he was aged almost forty, a lawyer, freshly married, and an avid reader. In the midst of this civil strife, one thing worried him above all: he was afraid of what ill fate might fall upon his collection of books. Thus he remained in Grenoble to keep an eye on his library, keeping quiet, and striving to live through the occupation without interfering in events. A note he left in his copy of Pliny gives us an insight into the way he

* Nicole Bingen, Graeme Kemp, Nina Lamal and Chiara Lastraioli all read drafts of this work, offering critical comments and useful insights. Their input has greatly improved this study, although any mistakes remain, of course, responsibility of the author.

1 Stéphane Gal, *Lesdiguières : Prince des Alpes et connétable de France* (Grenoble, Presses universitaires, 2007), p. 69.

lived through that time: "I read Pliny the Younger taken by his suavity – I learned many epistles by heart during my spare time, first in 1583, then again in 1586 when the town of Grenoble was occupied and under siege".² Once the town was overtaken by the Huguenots, he was content to quickly shift to the support of that party, having succeeded in remaining unharmed. Taking part in the battle of Pontcharra was the redeeming action that made possible his return to the royalist party.³

Admittedly, Expilly's biographer may have revealed a little bias in recounting the story.⁴ Antoine Boniel de Catilhon was his sister's grandson and other parts of his *Vie de messire Claude Expilly* appear to be somewhat unrealistic.⁵ Nevertheless, Expilly's attachment to his library does not seem to have been fictional at all. The physical appearance of his books gives an insight into an erudite personality to whom every single item had its own importance. Most relevant to this investigation, he used to sign the title page of each copy, often adding a note of purchase with place, year and price. Gifts were also dutifully recorded on the title page, with the year in which they were received. Expilly took note of life events within the pages of his books – the birth of his grandchild, the death of his wife. Endleaves in

2 The note is transcribed in the Latin original in the appendix at the end of this study, no. 56.

3 That was the first time Expilly had engaged in battle. Gal, *Lesdiguières*, p. 79. A manuscript with the account of the battle, written by Expilly himself, is preserved in Grenoble, CGM 2224. The text was published a few decades later: *La Bataille de Pontcharra et journée de Sal-Bertrand, gagnées par d'Esdiuières, décrites par Claude Expilly* (Grenoble, P. Marniolles, 1621). Copy seen: Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 4-H-2997.

4 The first and most extensive biography of Expilly was published in 1660: Antoine Boniel de Catilhon, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly, chevalier, conseiller du Roy en son Conseil d'Estat, & President au Parlement de Grenoble* (Grenoble, chez Philippe Charvys, 1660). All the later contributions, such as J.C. Martin, *Histoire et vie de Claude Expilly, Chevalier, Conseiller du Roi en son Conseil d'état, et Président au Parlement de Grenoble* (Grenoble, J.H. Peyronard, 1803); François Mugnier, *Claude Expilly président au conseil de Chambéry et au parlement de Grenoble. Ses oeuvres, ses portraits, ses médailles* (Chambéry, Imprimerie Ménard, 1892), and the article in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1933-) [henceforth *DBF*] XIII (1975), pp. 324–326, draw upon this source.

5 For instance, the description of his meeting with Torquato Tasso might raise a little suspicion. See Catilhon, *Vie de messire Claude Expilly*, p. 130 and following. It is difficult not to recall that doubts have been raised also about Montaigne's encounter with Tasso, and that Tasso's madness soon developed into a literary *leitmotiv*. See Juliana Schiesari, *The Gendering of Melancholia: Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 20, for a brief overview of the scholarly discussion on Montaigne's meeting with Tasso.

his books still carry short reminders about volumes he had lent or borrowed from friends, or notes concerning debts and the day-to-day administration of his household. His library was not just a collection of texts, but the repository of a lifetime.

As it was his custom to record the ownership and the origin of most of his books, it is possible to reconstruct how this provincial intellectual could have access to such varied and international publications. The process through which this library was assembled, gathering items from all over Europe, and the support of the network of friends, literati and patrons that made this possible, represent the scope of this study. An appendix with a description of the books inspected is provided at the end.⁶

A Note on the Sample

All the items directly examined for this study are preserved at the Bibliothèque Municipale in Grenoble. The majority of Expilly's library was purchased by the bishop Jean de Caulet in the early eighteenth century. The whole of Caulet's collection was then bought by the town and formed the initial nucleus of the Municipal Library.⁷ A few items of Expilly's library have been dispersed – some appear in sale catalogues every so often, while some others are preserved in different repositories.⁸ As for the notes of ownership, purchase or gift, which represent the main source for this study, when and why were they written? An examination and comparison of the handwriting and the ink suggest that most of these inscriptions were placed in the books from the 1590s onwards, at different stages. This may have happened due to a re-organisation of the collection after Expilly got married, or perhaps it was a habit he acquired later on and struggled to maintain with regularity.

The quality of the notes is not consistent throughout the corpus examined in this study. Some items are merely signed, others have the date of purchase but not the price, and so on. This may suggest that Expilly was not annotating

6 Henceforth all references to the appendix are expressed by the Arabic numeral between square brackets.

7 There is a dissertation on the subject of Caulet's library (with very few references to Expilly's): Audrey Berne, "La Bibliothèque de Monseigneur de Caulet évêque de Grenoble (1726–1771)" (Unpublished dissertation, Université Pierre Mendès-France, 1998).

8 The Parisian edition of Tasso's masterpiece is now preserved in Bergamo [198]. The municipal library in Fécamp has a *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains* by Guillaume Du Choul [118]. Christie's, Osenat and Drouot are some of the booksellers that have hosted sales with books formerly owned by Expilly.

the books as soon as he had purchased them, but only later. He was possibly drawing upon a journal, or his own memory, in order to reconstruct how he came to own this or that book. This is the case with some of the volumes purchased in Italy. For instance, Padua and Venice both appear as the place of purchase for Tasso's *Rime*: the former is written on the upper endleaf, the latter on the title page [23]. The price was 30ss. in both cases. Another volume has a note of purchase dated Milan 1582, but according to what we know about Expilly's travels so far, he could not have been there in that year. The purchase of this book was more likely to have taken place either before or after 1582, when Expilly is supposed to have been in Padua instead, perhaps on his way back home in 1583 [21]. The last case is the only one in which we have a precise date of purchase: the book was bought in Venice on 2 April 1582 [9]. The date was that of Marco Mantova Benavides' death, an event that was marked with grand funerals and was much discussed both in Padua and in Venice.⁹ As the date was particularly memorable, perhaps Expilly could remember that he bought this book in Venice on that specific day even several years afterwards. In other words, although these notes constitute marvellous evidence, they need to be used with caution.

Finally, a remark about numbers seems to be necessary. This sample contains about 220 items, a corpus that was found representative for this study given the varied distribution of the books across time and genres. However, we are far from knowing all about Expilly's library. A few handwritten serial numbers found on the spine of certain volumes [see 159; 160], going up to 1784, give an insight into the breadth of the collection. The numbers are in the hand of Expilly himself. Whether this was a pressmark or, rather, an inventory number, it is not possible to say with so few instances. However, it seems very plausible that each volume was given a different and unique number, and that the library thus contained at least eighteen hundred items. These 220 might amount to approximately ten per cent of the whole collection. This 'inventory' operation presumably took place at a late stage in Expilly's life, given that the lowest number found so far appears on a volume purchased in 1628. His wife, Isabeau de Bonneton, died on 22 September 1627, which may indicate that an inventory for the whole household was drawn up in the months following her death. If such a document was to be found, one might perhaps discover accurate figures for the library.

9 See article on Benavides by Franco Tomasi and Christian Zendri in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Treccani, 1925-) [henceforth: *DBI*] 69 (2007). Funeral orations were published by Lorenzo Pasquato in Padua. See *USTC* 837024 and 852507.

A Student's First Steps and the Italian Years

Claude Expilly was born at Voiron, some 20 kilometres north-west of Grenoble, in 1561. According to his biographer, he spent four years at the Jesuit College in Tournon and three in Paris.¹⁰ Of the few books that he purchased in the years 1579–1581, none carries an explicit statement that it was bought in the French capital. However, a number of items are very likely to have been bought during the time he was there as a student.¹¹ These items were all in Latin or French, normally quite cheap old imprints, mostly Parisian.¹² From this count are excluded a few Lyonnais and Swiss imprints that could have easily been acquired in his region, and not in Paris – but nothing excludes the possibility that these too might well have been purchased in the capital.

After receiving his basic academic education in France, Expilly undertook law studies. It was then not uncommon for the French elite to attend the classes of the great jurists at the Italian universities: Ferrara, Pavia and Padua were popular destinations.¹³ It is known that Expilly was in Turin (1581) and in Padua (1582), though the duration of his stay in these places and the courses he chose to attend at university represent controversial matters.¹⁴ In Italy he attended the lectures of Jean-Antoine Manos, Guido Panciroli and

10 Catilhon, *Vie de messire Claude Expilly*, p. 12.

11 See Appendix, nos. 2, 3, 4, 10, 19, 22.

12 One exception is represented by the Antwerp edition of Vergil that he bought in 1579 for 1 livre 20ss.

13 Jean Balsamo, 'Le voyage d'Italie et la formation des élite françaises' *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, xxvii (2003), pp. 9–21: 11; Nicole Bingen, 'Les étudiants de langue française dans les universités italiennes à la Renaissance: mise à jour du recensement et analyse des données' in Michel Bideaux and Marie – Madeleine Fragonard (eds.), *Les échanges entre les universités européennes à la Renaissance* (Geneva, Droz, 2003), pp. 25–44.

14 The reader will find a thorough examination of Expilly's academic career in Nicole Bingen, *Recensement des étudiants français, francs-comtois et savoyards de langue française dans les universités italiennes de 1480 à 1599* (Geneva, Droz, forthcoming). From Bingen's discussion it appears that the records from the *Studium Patavinum* do not account for Expilly's presence in Padua. He does not appear in the *Acta Graduum* either as a doctoral student (that is a given, as he graduated in Bourges in 1583), nor as a witness to thesis defences or to a profession of faith. The *Acta iuristarum universitatis* for the students of jurisprudence are incomplete for the period here considered. So far, any information we have about Expilly's stay in Padua comes from some private correspondence, Catilhon's *Vie de messire Claude Expilly* and the location indicated in some notes of purchase found on his books.

Giacomo Menochio.¹⁵ Along with the great jurists of his time, he also became acquainted with some of the most influential intellectuals in Padua, including Sperone Speroni. Even more relevant to this study, he was introduced to the circle (and to the library) of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, perhaps the greatest collector of books and scientific instruments in Renaissance Italy.¹⁶ The surrounding intellectual environment led Expilly to read prominent Italian authors, including Bembo, Ruscelli and Tasso. That he was practising, and improving, his Italian is very clear from the annotations he made in the margins of the books he bought at the time. An evolution is very noticeable from the first annotations in French, to his attempt to translate verses from Italian into his own language, and finally to an independent production in a quite respectable Tuscan.

Travelling throughout the peninsula must have been a helpful way to improve his Italian and nurture his interest towards various literary matters. In 1582 or at the start of 1583 he set off to tour Italy. According to Catilhon he visited various places, including Bologna, Florence and Rome, leaving out Naples due to the presence of bandits.¹⁷ Apparently he did not purchase any books during this journey. Instead, various volumes were bought in Venice, as is revealed by the inscriptions on some ten volumes. Several collections of *Rime* and *Sonetti* were purchased there for a few *sols*.¹⁸ All of these are bound in limp parchment or light cardboard, affordable for a student and also easy to carry

15 Giacomo Menochio (1532–1607) was at the time one of the most sought-after of the Italian jurists. The universities of Pisa and Bologna were both extremely keen on having him to move from Padua; but these efforts had the sole result of increasing his pay at Padua. See article by Chiara Valsecchi in *DBI* LXXIII (2009). Menochio only moved away when he received an offer from Pavia, but that was after Expilly had returned to France. Guido Panciroli (1523–1599) was a jurist at the universities of Padua, Turin and Rome. See *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1935), article by Biagio Brugi.

16 Catilhon, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly*, pp. 13–15. Alessandra Preda, 'Tra Tasso e Montaigne: il Petrarchismo di Claude Expilly' in Jean Balsamo (ed.), *Les poètes français de la Renaissance et Petrarque* (Geneva, Droz, 2004), pp. 429–443: 430. For Pinelli's library, see: Marcella Grendler, 'A Greek Collection in Padua: The Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), pp. 386–416; Angela Nuovo, 'The creation and dispersal of the library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Books on the move: Tracking copies through collections and the book trade* (New Castle, DE and London, Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2007), pp. 39–67. The reader will find further references in the latter.

17 Catilhon, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly*, p. 20.

18 If he bought the Italian volumes in local currency, he nevertheless transformed the price into French currency.

around.¹⁹ Most of these books were Venetian imprints, with the exception of the *Scielta delle Rime* by Tasso, printed in Ferrara, which he bought for '30 solz' [22]. This was the most expensive and the newest edition, but other works were also fairly recent [8; 14; 15]. Older publications were just as easily available: the other Venetian imprints he bought were twenty to thirty years old [2; 9; 10]. Most of these volumes were immaculate at the moment of purchase. The price varied according to the size of the book, or more exactly, the quantity of paper contained in a single copy, and was not affected by the aging of the publication, but it dropped considerably in the case of a second-hand purchase [12].

Among the books Expilly brought back to France were some gifts he had received in Padua or Turin. That was the case of the *Sindon Evangelica* by Philibert Pingon, printed in Turin by Bevilacqua in 1581 and given to Expilly that year by the author [17]. In Padua he added to his collection an *Apologia de gli academici de banchi*, on which he noted: 'J'ay eu ce liure du frere naturel de Monsieur le duc de ioyeuse a Padoue 1582' [7].²⁰ The same copy also carries the signature 'J. Du Bourg' on the title page, which is identifiable as Jean Du Bourg, son of the chancellor Antoine Du Bourg.²¹ Du Bourg and Joyeuse met in either Venice or Padua in the years 1572 or 1573, and it must have been then that the book passed from Du Bourg to Joyeuse, to eventually land in Expilly's hands some ten years later. This is the first instance, but by no means the last, to highlight the existence of a confidential, 'private' circulation of second-hand books, quite separate from the second-hand book trade.

The Italian years were extremely important for Expilly's education. His interest in the culture of the Italian peninsula was to be life-long. Possibly more important than that was his 'apprenticeship' in the exchange and organisation

19 This was a common trait among students on the move. The Scottish poet William Drummond of Hawthornden also went book-shopping on the continent, and went back home with a large amount of poorly-bound volumes. See Robert H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, University Press, 1971).

20 Thanks to Nicole Bingen, this esponent of the Joyeuse family could be identified with François, uncle and not brother of Anne de Joyeuse. Records for François de Joyeuse at the University of Padua account for his presence from 1573 to 1577 and to 1580 to 15 July 1583, when he received his doctorate. In 1573 he was a representative for the *nation de Provence*, which suggests he must have been in Padua at least since 1571 or 1572. Madame Bingen suggested that Expilly might have had a superficial acquaintance with Joyeuse, which would account for his mistake in calling him *frere naturel* of the Duc de Joyeuse.

21 Anna Bettoni, "Arnaud du Ferrier et les Français de Venise à l'époque de la peste de 1576" in Jean Balsamo and Chiara Lastraioli (eds.), *Chemins de l'exil et havres de paix: migration des hommes et des idées au XVIe siècle*. Actes du colloque de Tours (8–9 novembre 2007) (Paris, H. Champion, 2010), pp. 261–288; 274–275.

of knowledge that he received thanks to his friends in Padua. The connection to Pinelli, in particular, put him in touch with a scholar-collector that he obviously looked at as an accomplished model.²² It was possibly from Pinelli himself that Expilly acquired the habit of filling blank pages in his books with lists of texts on a similar topic, which represents a typical feature of his library and his use of it [76; 169].²³ But most of all, with Pinelli and his friends Expilly came to know an extremely active network in the *commerce des lettres*, which would shape and influence his intellectual relationships for years to come.

Return to France: A Marriage and the Local Circles

Back in France Expilly received his doctoral title from the University of Bourges in 1583 and became a lawyer in Grenoble in November of the same year.²⁴ Also, thanks to his alliance and friendship with the Duc de Lesdiguières and the good impression he had made on Pomponne de Bellièvre, he had a good career in the capital of Dauphiné.²⁵ From a mere lawyer he ascended the ladder until he became, in 1616, *Président du Parlement* in Grenoble.²⁶ His marriage to Isabeau de Bonneton in 1589 led to a considerable improvement in his financial condition, and provided the capital to purchase the offices required for this career.

The marriage also determined the range of books Expilly could now afford to buy. No matter what personal connections and friendships he had formed, before 1589 the price of his volumes remained fairly low, with very few exceptions. Most books he bought for his work (the purchases he made in Italy were an exception), and these editions tended to be quite out of date – functional

22 See Expilly's copy of Paolo Gualdo's *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli* [139], with a few handwritten annotations and corrections.

23 Peiresc used to do just the same, which may suggest that the habit came from their common background. See Angela Nuovo, "Ritratto di collezionista da giovane: Peiresc a casa Pinelli" in Marc Fumaroli (ed.), *Peiresc et l'Italie. Actes du colloque international* (Paris, Baudry et Cie, 2009), pp. 1–17: 4.

24 Catilhon, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly*, pp. 21–22.

25 Olivier Poncet, *Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529–1607): un homme d'Etat au temps des guerres de religion* (Paris, École des Chartes, 1998), p. 230. There was also a brief interlude in Chambéry, 1600–1605, which will be referred to again further on.

26 Martin, *Histoire et vie de Claude Expilly*, p. 13: "élu conseiller d'état au mois de janvier 1612, Expilly reçoit jusqu'à sa mort 2,000 fr. d'honoraires. Les héritiers de Dedorne lui cèdent, en 1616, l'office de président au parlement de Grenoble, dont la simple procuration lui coûte 42,000 fr."

texts, *usuels* of his profession. It would not be unusual to pick these up in the second-hand market. Whether this was a matter of the availability of the text, or was due to financial constraints, it is hard to tell. After 1589 the price of the books he bought and the quality of the bindings rose substantially. Several copies are to be found in gold-tooled bindings, usually calf skin on pasteboards. This group comprises about 30 books, of which the price varied between one and four *livres tournois*. A laurel wreath motif and its variations are the most common design, but we also find medallions and diamond shapes – all falling within the same taste and price range, and very typical of French books of the period.

A longer time between the year of publication and that of purchase lowered the price substantially for French publications, but not for foreign ones, which remained expensive if they were fine books. That is the case of *Antonii Bonfinii rerum Ungaricarum decades tres*, printed in Basle in 1543 and bought in 1598 for 1 livre 4oss [93]. However, this represents an exception rather than the norm. A high percentage of the books Expilly bought after 1589 were very recent: some forty percent were purchased within five years from their date of printing. One may also observe that books bought in the very year of their publication were almost always French, and that many of the foreign novelty books were purchased at least one year after their date of publication. There are a few exceptions from Germany and the Low Countries, such as the *Descriptionis Tolemaicae* printed in 1598 in Leuven and purchased the same year [218]. This is also the most expensive of all the books in our sample. It contained about 20 plates, hand-coloured, and cost 4 livres. Several of the foreign books were bought in Lyon, which seemed to be reached sooner than Paris by novelty publications from abroad. This is hardly surprising, as even in times of economic decline, the fairs in Lyon remained active and well-attended. Amongst the books bought there one finds publications from Venice, Urbino, Lisbon, Frankfurt am Main, Speyer and Augsburg. Others were purchased in Grenoble, Chambéry and Geneva, but they represent a small percentage of the total.

What Makes Gifts Precious?

The distinction before and after 1589 does not just affect the novelty of the books purchased by Expilly, but also the importance of second-hand volumes within the wider picture of his acquisitions. Of the 40 volumes that were certainly second-hand when they came into his possession, 25 entered Expilly's library before 1589, at a cost ranging between 7 and 30 *sols*. Of the other 15, half were given to him by friends or relatives such as his daughter's father-in-law or

the jurist Gaspard Froment.²⁷ Some of the ones he actually bought were purchased from the libraries of friends or acquaintances, owners he knew and with whom there was sometimes an exchange of books – given as gifts, purchased or borrowed. This is the case of a François Tedis of Saint-Laurent-du-Pont, a village close to Voiron. From his library Expilly bought a few books, but they also lent volumes to each other.²⁸

The issues of gift-copies and the circulation of second-hand books open the field once again to consider how Expilly's personal relations influenced the content of his library. Evidence shows that the books he received as gifts were different in quality and substance depending on the type of relationship he had with this or that person. De Chapponay, the father of Expilly's son-in-law, gave him a couple of Italian sixteenth-century books from his own library [90; 102].²⁹ These were both around fifty-year old, poor editions, even more poorly bound. But Chapponay knew that Expilly had a keen interest in Italian culture and had a collection of Italian items himself, and clearly anticipated that these volumes would be a welcome gift despite their low commercial value. An equally sincere concern animated Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, who was acquainted with Expilly through common friends in Italy and in France, and went through much trouble in order to send him a handsome copy of the work of Guillaume Du Vair – but in this case the quality of the item was much higher.³⁰ From Gaspard Froment, a jurist and professor at the University of Valence, Expilly received a set of the classical civil law canon with the comment of Guy Pape [58–60], which Froment had inherited together with the rest of his father's library. An *avocat Le Gras*, from Avignon, gave him a second-hand copy

27 Son of Claude Froment, became professor of jurisprudence at the University of Valence in 1610 as his father before him. See *DBF* XIV (1976–1979), pp. 1356–1357.

28 A reminder of various books they had lent to each other is to be found on [55] – see the appendix for a transcription.

29 Both these gifts from Chapponay were given to Expilly in 1613, the year his son-in-law Laurent II de Chapponay died (Catilhon, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly*, pp. 69–70). In a personal comment, Nicole Bingen pointed out that both Laurent I and his brother Philippe de Chapponay were students in Padua in the years 1546–1550. The books given to Expilly were purchased after 1550, but it is possible that the interest in Italian culture went back to Laurent I himself and that the gift to Expilly was from *his* personal library.

30 M. Champollion-Figeac, *Lettre inédite de Peiresc* (Paris, J.B. Sajou, 1811). Apparently there was no special reason for this gift, except, as Peiresc says in his letter, that he knew Expilly and Du Vair (who had died in 1621) were friends, and Expilly would certainly appreciate the gift. The boxes of books Peiresc had ordered from Paris were delayed by the disorders at Le Pouzin, which were troubling the circulation on the Rhône. See Champollion-Figeac, pp. 5–6 (transcription of the letter) and p. 15 for a discussion.

of the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, certainly a tribute to Expilly's bibliophilic approach to books and his interest towards other collections [188]. During the time he was *procureur général* in Chambéry he received gifts from at least one local friend – in particular two editions from the Estienne firm in Geneva [79; 121] given to him in 1600 by a “Bonetus Camberiensis”, both second-hand at the time.³¹

The surviving traces of gifts given by Expilly himself are also significant. A short list in the hand of Peiresc, today at the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine in Carpentras, was drawn up after the two met in Lyon in 1616.³² Expilly had brought to the meeting a present for Peiresc himself, a manuscript of the *Decretum Gratiani*, “fort enluminé”. The two were obviously discussing other people and their books, because Peiresc also recorded that Expilly had recently given to the President De Thou “a very curious manuscript of the canon translated in French vernacular some three hundred years ago”.³³ A final note concerned the rich library assembled by François de Bonne de Lesdiguières in his home, where he was gathering a large amount of the most beautiful manuscripts.³⁴

Giving books was not always about beautiful volumes or texts. Expilly, who was always keeping an eye on the book-market, happened to notice a distasteful and potentially harmful anti-royalist publication when in Chambéry.³⁵ A letter was quickly addressed to Pomponne de Bellièvre, together with the book,

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- 31 A signature ‘Chauasse’ on both title pages, barred and certainly earlier than 1600, may indicate that Bonetus Camberiensis obtained them from a contemporary sale and gifted them to Expilly. At any rate Bonetus did not sign the books himself, so there is no reason to believe that they were part of his collection.
 - 32 Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, Ms 1769, fol. 389r. I am very grateful to Jean-François Delmas and Julie Lochanski, from the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, for their assistance in this matter.
 - 33 The original reads: “un fort curieux m.s. du Code traduit en roman françois troiscents ans y a”.
 - 34 What survives of Lesdiguières's library does not seem to count many “beautiful manuscripts”, as it appears from the list drawn up by Peiresc himself just seven years after his death. There are of course precious items but Expilly's report on the subject might have exaggerated things a little. For an account of Peiresc's list see Gal, *Lesdiguières*, pp. 44–45.
 - 35 This calls for considerations on book survival as well as circulation of the book. The action undertaken by Expilly and Bellièvre must have been an effective one: to the best of our knowledge, no surviving edition can be identified with the text that attracted Expilly's attention, either printed in Chambéry, or indicating Chambéry as a false typographical address. Expilly does not explain in the letter how he knew the pamphlet was printed in Chambéry; he was sending the publication together with his letter, therefore no further explanation was required.

noting that by no means should it be allowed to cross the borders and enter the French kingdom.³⁶

Literati and the Publisher

The most typical type of gift from Expilly – or perhaps just the best-documented one – was, however, gift-copies of his own works. Since the 1590s he had engaged himself with literary activity, a blend of his Italian intellectual legacy and his professional experience as a man of jurisprudence. His *Poèmes* were published twice and his *Plaidoyez* underwent no less than ten, often augmented, editions between 1608 and 1694.³⁷ Two minor works were his account of the battle of Pontcharra, already cited, and his supplement to the *Histoire du chevalier Bayard*.³⁸ This activity led to him once again being surrounded by an intellectual environment, albeit different from the Italian context.

From 1596 to 1620 all his works were published in Paris by Abel L'Angelier and later by his widow.³⁹ The Parisian atelier *au Palais* thus became the new hub of Expilly's intellectual exchanges. It has already been observed that a friendly relationship was often entertained by the L'Angeliers with their authors.⁴⁰ Indeed, evidence points in the direction of a small circle of customers who had gathered around the couple and later became authors in their catalogue too.

36 Poncet, *Pomponne de Bellièvre*, p. 246. The letter is preserved at Paris, BnF, Ms français 15898, f. 51r. Poncet mentions the date 23 April 1605 that, however, does not seem to appear on the letter.

37 Editions by the Angelier: *Les Poèmes* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1596), USTC 8228; *Plaidoyers* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1608), also reprinted by L'Angelier's widow in 1612 and 1619. From other firms: *Les Poèmes* (Grenoble, P. Verdier, 1624). Editions of the *Plaidoyers* during his life: Lyon, Simon Rigaud, 1628; Lyon, Laurant Durand, 1636. Posthumous editions: Lyon, Laurant Durand, 1651; Lyon, Simon Rigaud, 1652; Lyon, Jean Radisson, 1657; Lyon, Nicolas Gay, 1662; Lyon, Antoine Thomas, 1694. For a bibliographical description of the items see Edmond Maignien, "Bibliographie des 'Plaidoyers' de Claude Expilly", *Petite Revue des Bibliophiles Dauphinois*, 4 (1913), pp. 64–78. Alessandra Preda, Catholic University of Milan, is planning a critical edition of Expilly's work.

38 The latter was published by J. Nicolas in Grenoble in 1650 and again in 1651.

39 Abel L'Angelier died in 1610. His widow, Françoise de Louvain, was the energetic continuator of the family business; indeed she was active in the publishing world well before her husband.

40 Jean Balsamo and Michel Simonin, *Abel L'Angelier et Françoise de Louvain* (Geneva, Droz, 2002); Lyndan Warner, *The Ideas of Man and Woman in Renaissance France* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), in particular Chapter 7.

Some letters show a trace of the network around Abel L'Angelier, and even more so surrounding his widow. She seemed a main focal point of intellectual exchange just as her atelier was a place of material encounters. On one occasion, Etienne Pasquier wrote to Madame L'Angelier sending greetings to some common friends, and Madame L'Angelier would, in turn, send personal messages through some of her authors who were in touch with each other.⁴¹

Several copies of L'Angelier editions, given to their customers as gifts, still survive; in all likelihood, many more are bound to appear after further investigation. This seems to have been a particular trait of the firm's policy under the guidance of Françoise de Louvain. To Expilly she gave a copy of the *Traicté du feu et du sel* and the *Images, ou Tableaux de Philostrate*, both in 1619, bound in the same style [173; 216]. A similar treatment was extended to other customer-authors in her circle.⁴² In just the same way, personal relations were entertained within the circle of the customer-authors. The habit of sending a copy of each other's publications was not uncommon, but it seems that Expilly used to do that systematically and beyond the Parisian network. Books sent by him to Gaspard Froment, François Pithou and others still survive and are documented.⁴³ Others probably do not survive or have not been found yet – that is the case with a copy of his poems he sent to André Duchesne '*Historiographe du Roy*' in 1624. Expilly, perhaps anxious to receive a feedback, addressed a second letter to Duchesne asking whether the book he had sent to Duchesne as a homage had yet been received.⁴⁴ The letter was sent to Duchesne to the address of the bookseller Cramoisy in Paris. This seems to suggest once again that at times booksellers and publishers had a confidential role as mediators within the intellectual network, rather than simply being professionals of the book-world.

The L'Angeliers are the only *marchand-libraires* mentioned in Expilly's notes of purchase. It is difficult to imagine that his custom was entirely reserved to one atelier, especially considering that the *Palais* area was one of the main locations for bookshops in the capital. The Parisian book market, being one of the greatest printing centres in Europe at the time, not only

41 Warner, *The Ideas of Man and Woman*, p. 166; Balsamo and Simonin, *Abel L'Angelier et Françoise de Louvain*, p. 49.

42 Balsamo and Simonin, *Abel L'Angelier et Françoise de Louvain*, p. 49 – this is the same letter cited earlier. Madame L'Angelier had sent some books to Guillaume Du Vair as a gift, and was anxious to know if they had arrived. See also p. 395 (a gift-copy of Madame L'Angelier to Brodeau).

43 These items, with their references, are described at the end of the Appendix.

44 Paris, BnF, ms Clairambault 1021 f. 141.



FIGURE 9.1 *Places of publication of the books purchased by Expilly in Lyon.*

offered a large array of local publications, but it was obviously rich of many international connections. Being able to explore bookshops in the capital increased the variety of imprints available to a collector like Expilly, based in the south of France (Figure 9.1 and 9.2 show the variety of books purchased in Lyon and Paris).

Given the variety of Parisian imprints in his library, as well as many foreign items purchased when in the capital, it seems likely that he would have been a regular visitor to a variety of bookshops. However, Expilly's relationship with the L'Angelier firm was certainly prominent within his Parisian network. The letter addressed to Duchesne *chez Cramoisy* is nothing but the confirmation of that special connection: Claude Cramoisy succeeded Françoise de Louvain



FIGURE 9.2 *Places of publication of the books purchased by Expilly in Paris.*

after her death, having married her granddaughter Françoise Patelé in 1621.⁴⁵ The witnesses to the wedding, on the side of the bride, are a glorious statement of the publishing policies at the L'Angelier firm: magistrates, lawyers and *conseillers* to the king all gathered together, that social milieu to which Expilly belonged.

The benefits of associating with the L'Angeliers were not confined to text-exchange, but involved other aspects of the materiality of the book. The bookplate Expilly often stuck onto the upper pastedown of his books,

45 Balsamo and Simonin, *Abel L'Angelier et Françoise de Louvain*, p. 52.

engraved by Thomas de Leu, was in fact a variant of the one de Leu produced for the L'Angelier 1596 edition of his *Poèmes*. He probably saw it and thought it would have been a handy way to customise his volumes, and had more copies made. Another bookplate in the same style, also executed by de Leu and representing François de Bonne de Lesdiguières, was stuck onto the lower pastedown on some twenty books in Expilly's collections.⁴⁶ The meaning of this second bookplate is quite obscure, as Lesdiguières's own books normally displayed his coat of arms. A possible explanation could be that this was a way for them to share books, an "et amicorum" code used between two individuals to mark readings they had exchanged. But it is known that Lesdiguières himself was not a keen reader; in fact the library assembled in his Grenoble residence was due much more to his secretary's effort than to his own.⁴⁷ It was perhaps a sign of Expilly's esteem and affection that he should stick his portrait at the back of certain books, although this remains a tentative explanation at best.

Of Books and People. But Mainly People

A different matter, finally, is represented by the books Expilly was sent by authors who were interested in his opinion, or who just wanted to introduce him to their recent publications. Volumes of their own works came from acquaintances or connections from the Italian years and Expilly's later peregrinations in Savoy in the 1620s and 1630s.⁴⁸ This is the case with the Jesuit Pierre Monod (gift received in 1624) and Giacomo Tomasini (the last two books known to have been added to the library, in 1634 and 1635).⁴⁹ Other copies came from Pierre D'Hozier [142], Jean de La Ceppède [144] and others.⁵⁰ Expilly received these volumes as a member of an intellectual community, and he

46 This plate was dated 1598. The titles concerned are marked in the appendix.

47 Gal, *Lesdiguières*, pp. 41–42.

48 Catilhon, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly*, pp. 93–98.

49 Preda, 'Tra Tasso e Montaigne', p. 430 cites a letter from Expilly to Tomasini, remembering the time spent in Padua as a student. This connection might have merely been that of people acquainted through others, as Catilhon claims that Expilly never met Tomasini. See Catilhon, *La vie de messire Claude Expilly*, p. 109 and following.

50 D'Hozier also used to send copies of his publications systematically. See copy at Lyon BM, 319826, with ex-dono to monsieur Des (last part illegible). About Expilly's copy of the *Theorèmes*, see Yvette Quentot, 'Une lettre de Jean de la Ceppède à Claude Expilly', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 50 (1988), pp. 81–86.

treated them accordingly, but with a hint of haughtiness. Most commonly he marked all the typos and inaccuracies he could find in the text. He seems to have been annoyed by Tomasini's publication, where he was cited but his name was misspelled [206]. This might not have been Tomasini's fault: the copy is incomplete and might have been gifted to Expilly before the last revisions.⁵¹ In the case of the *Philostrate* translated by Blaise de Vigenère and purchased in 1599 Expilly went further than a stern correction and wrote a final note full of details about the bad quality of the translation [171].⁵² But Vigenère was one of L'Angelier's authors and a personal friend of theirs, so a sense of rivalry might have to be factored in.⁵³

With these last examples the circle of literary exchange is closed. As a young student, Expilly was given books as an aid to his studies and interests. Now as an author in his own right, he was sent texts for comments and criticisms. The traces of his interaction with all these texts can be found within the books that made up his collection. The case of Expilly's library seems to be one exemplary case of a collection that requires material examination in order for its history to be understood. A list of the imprints present in his library would provide us with an idea of the composition of the collection, one that drew upon the printed production of several countries. But a full picture can only be acquired through an understanding of how he came to own these books, and their material analysis represents a key factor in this process.

The evolution of Expilly's personal and professional life brought a series of effective changes upon the composition of his collection. The Italian years, his marriage, his literary career as one of the authors published *au Palais* and his *cursus honorum* in jurisprudence all had an impact on what he was reading, and how; which books he bought and which ones he was given. In other words, Expilly's library, his activities as a lawyer and as an intellectual, and the network of personal connections represent different aspects of his approach to the book and cannot be understood without one another.

51 The Grenoble copy collates A-2C⁴χ² whereas SBN gives the whole collation formula as π⁴ 2†⁴ A-2C⁴χ²; this might suggest that the printed sheets were sent when the last parts, i.e. the dedication and other preliminary matter, had not yet been completed.

52 Yves Le Hir, 'Blaise de Vigenère écrivain, jugé par Claude Expilly' in *Travaux de Linguistique et Littérature* (1980), pp. 377–386; Balsamo and Simonin, *Abel L'Angelier et Françoise de Louvain*, pp. 298–299.

53 Jean Balsamo, 'De l'édition aux exemplaires: à propos des *Images, ou Tableaux de Philostrate* (Paris, Veuve L'Angelier, 1614–1615)' in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Michel Simonin* (forthcoming). I thank Professor Balsamo for kindly sharing this text before it was published.

What appears obvious, when examining the case of Expilly's library, is that such a keen reader was forced to deploy all his strategies and connections in order to assemble such an eclectic collection. Differently from some contemporary collectors, such as Claude Dupuy, Expilly did not have particular requirements in terms of the state of his books; he did not care if a copy had been used before. But he was a curious reader, and was keen on variety. Despite the prominence of centres such as Lyon and Paris within the European book trade, what they had to offer was not sufficient. The importance of his network in supplementing what was available in the 'regular' book trade appears obvious when we map the places of printing of all the books Expilly received through his friends and acquaintances (see Figure 9.3). In the creation of this



FIGURE 9.3 *Places of publication of the books acquired by Expilly through his network.*

library, international exchange was not, could not be limited to the book-trade proper; it had to rely on different networks. Volumes purchased through the French book-trade were thus supplemented with carefully chosen gifts, requests of peer-review, and tokens from his youth.

Such testimonies of material culture are crucial to our understanding of international exchange in the early modern European book world. As we know and keep learning from the study of private correspondences, it appears with increased clarity that the book trade proper was accompanied by a private circulation of volumes and information.⁵⁴ Information was acquired, lists were drawn up and forwarded in order to keep up with the novelties of the marketplace of print and the sales of private collections. But in the end, as is revealed by the study of Expilly's library, this *commerce des lettres* was not about books: it was about people and how they related to each other.

Claude Expilly and His Books

The appendix is divided into sections, following the different phases in the life of Claude Expilly that, as has been shown, had a specific impact on his library. These sections are: 1. Before graduating; 2. Between graduation and marriage; 3. After marriage; 4. Undated books. The latter contains items without date of purchase and for which the date of purchase cannot be inferred (for example, anything printed after 1589 was obviously purchased after Expilly's marriage). An asterisk precedes all the items that were given to Expilly as a present, to separate them from the ones he purchased. A short, final list ("Appendix B") contains books given from Expilly to others. Within each section, the entries are organised alphabetically by author, and then by title and year.

54 See especially Anna Maria Raugei (ed.), *Une correspondance entre deux humanistes* (Florence, Olschki, 2001), but also Paul Botley and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *The correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger* (Geneva, Droz, 2012) and Chiara Lastraioli, "Une correspondance érudite. Les lettres de Giovan Vincenzo Pinelli" in *L'epistolaire au XVIe siècle* (Paris, Cahiers V.L. Saulnier – Ed. Rue d'Ulm, 2001), pp. 165–178. Dissertations are currently being written on the correspondence between Pinelli and Corbinelli at the University of Lausanne. For considerations on this aspects of the circulation of books and knowledge exchange, also see: Shanti Graheli, "The circulation and collection of Italian printed books in France in the sixteenth century" (Unpublished dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2015), pp. 85–102; Graheli, "Daniele Barbaro e la Repubblica delle Lettere" in P. Caye, F. Lemerle, L. Moretti and V. Zara (ed.), *Daniele Barbaro: vénitien, patricien, humanist* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2016).

Each entry contains three parts:

1. Description of the edition: author(s), short-title, typographical notes, format. When possible, different authorial roles are given: editor (E), commentator (C), illustrator (I), translator (T).
2. References: for the sake of brevity, a unique reference to the USTC (Universal Short Title Catalogue) has been used for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century items.⁵⁵ Extensive references given by the USTC can be found online. An exception has been made if the entry was owed to a specific source. That is the case in particular with the work by Jean Balsamo and Michel Simonin on the L'Angelier firm, which provided information about certain copies. Sale catalogues have also been indicated as sources for a few copies that are not preserved in public libraries. For seventeenth-century items, other references have also been used when available, such as VD17.⁵⁶
3. Description of the copy: library and pressmark, bookbinding and provenance information. Unless otherwise stated, any information about purchase, annotations or any other marks is referred to Expilly's ownership of the item. Abbreviations: "Bp" stands for "bookplate", "TP" for title page.

In case of editions bound together, the physical description of the unique volume is given for the first item only (a similar form is adopted in the case of consistent set of volumes, bought together and usually bound in the same fashion). The other entries from a same *recueil factice* contain a reference to the physical description in the form [→4]. In all of these cases, the volumes were either bought by Expilly already bound, or he had them bound together. The price indicated by Expilly is inclusive of all the items, unless otherwise stated. He used the *livre tournois* and the French *sol* as his accounting units (1 *livre tournois* = 20 *sous*; 1 *sol* = 12 *deniers*).

Appendix A: The Library of Claude Expilly

Before Graduating

1. Avitus, saint. *Poemata, aliaque non poenitenda* (Lyon, Gaspar & Melchior Trechsel for Vincent de Portonariis, 1536). 8°. – USTC 200203. – Grenoble

⁵⁵ <<http://ustc.ac.uk/>>.

⁵⁶ <<http://www.vd17.de/>>.

- BM, X.296. Leather, blind- and gold-tooled; gaufered edges. Purchased: 1582, 12ss.
2. Bembo, Pietro. *Le Rime* (Venice, Giordano Ziletti, 1562). 8°. – USTC 813441. – Grenoble BM, F.104. Purchased: Venezia, 1582, 5ss. Several notes, in Italian and French.
 3. Beroaldo, Filippo. *Orationes praelectiones praefationes et quaedam mythicae historiae* ([Paris, François Regnault, [1520]). 4°. – USTC 145293. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.7453 [→4]. Incomplete copy.
 4. Beroaldo, Filippo. *Varia opuscula* (Paris, Olivier Senant, [1511]). 4°. – USTC 183076. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.7452 (bound with F.7453–7454). Tanned calf, blind-tooled, early sixteenth century. Third hand (annotations in French, upper pastedown, dated 1540; two different hands). Purchased: 1580.
 5. Bourbon, Jacques de. *La grande et merueilleuse et trescruelle oppugnation de la noble cite de Rhodes* (Paris, Pierre Vidoue : Pierre Gourmont, 1525). – USTC 10357. – Grenoble BM, Rés. C.3256. Leather, blind-tooled, French. Restored. Ruled copy. Purchased: 1581.
 6. Caesar, Caius Iulius. *De bello Gallico commentarii VII, etc.* ([Geneva, Jacob Stoer] apud Barthélemy Vincent (Lyon), 1574). 2°. – USTC 156062. – Grenoble BM, A.2744. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1580. Various annotations throughout the whole text.
 7. *Caro, Annibal. *Apologia de gli Academici di Banchi di Roma, contra m. Lodovico Castelvetro* (Parma, Seth Viotti, 1573). 8°. – USTC 819049. – Grenoble BM, E.29446. Limp parchment. Received: Padova, 1582 (“J’ay eu ce liure du frere naturel de Monsieur le duc de ioyeuse a Padoue 1582 Expilly”). Title page: signature “J. Du Bourg F...” (last part illegible).
 8. Caro, Annibal. *Rime* (Venice, Aldo Manuzio, 1572). 4°. – USTC 819047. – Grenoble BM, F.7147 [→15]. Various annotations in the margins, in French.
 9. Cartari, Vincenzo. *Il Flavio intorno ai fasti Volgari* (Venice, Gualtiero Scoto, 1553). 8°. – USTC 819161. – Grenoble BM, E.29401. Limp parchment. Purchased: Venice, 2 April 1582, 22ss. Annotations in the margins, in Italian and French.
 10. Cattani da Diacceto, Francesco; Varchi, Benedetto. *Tre libri d’amore* (Venice, Gabriele Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1561). 8°. – USTC 819776. – Grenoble BM, E.30402. Limp parchment. Purchased: Venezia, 1582, 15ss.
 11. Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachie, ou Discours du songe de Poliphile* (Paris, Jacques Kerver, 1546). – USTC 12610. – Grenoble BM, Rés. B.2703. Tanned calf, double fillet, title gold-tooled inside medallion at centre of boards. Purchased: 1580, 2 livres. Second hand: lower endleaf, “Polianj frater franciscus per amauit 1572”.

12. Della Casa, Giovanni. *Rime, et prose* (Venice, Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1558). 4°. – USTC 826234. – Grenoble BM, F. 7142. Limp parchment; trace of ties. Purchased: 1582, 10ss. Second hand (note on upper plate).
13. *Duello libro de re, imperatori, prencipi, signori, gentil'huomini, & de tutti armigeri* (Venice [Comin da Trino], 1540). 8°. – USTC 825309. – Grenoble BM, F.5317. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1582.
14. Goselini, Giuliano. *Rime* (Venice, haer. Pietro Deuchino, 1581). 12°. – USTC 833776. – Grenoble BM, F.103. Limp parchment, Italian. Purchased: Venice, 1582, 10ss.
15. Marucini, Lorenzo (E). *Rime de diversi autori bassanesi* (Venice, Pietro de' Franceschi & nepoti, 1576). 4°. – USTC 841256. – Grenoble BM, F.7146 (bound with F.7147). Limp parchment. Purchased: Venice, 10ss. Verso upper endleaf, a shopping/packing list (?): "16 chausses, 1 coiffre, 6–7 mouchoirs, 8 chemises".
16. Iuvenalis, Decimus Iunius; Persius Flaccus, Aulus. *Satyrae* (Basle, Johannes Froben, 1551). 2°. – USTC 668529. – Grenoble BM, Rés. B.2843. Purchased: 1579, 1 livre. Annotations in the margins.
17. *Pington, Emmanuel-Philibert de. *Sindon evangelica* (Turin, haer. Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1581). 4°. – USTC 848812. – Grenoble BM, C.1538. Received: Turin, 1581, gift of the author. Upper endleaf: list of expenses accounting for a total of 102 livres 20ss.
18. *Rime di diversi illustri signori napoletani* (Venice, Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari & Fratelli, 1552). 8°. – USTC 803573. – Grenoble BM, F.129. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1582.
19. Ruscelli, Girolamo. *I Fiori delle rime de' poeti illustri* (Venice, haer. Marchiò Sessa, 1579). 12°. – USTC 853920. – Grenoble BM, F.125. Limp parchment. Purchased: Turin, 1581, 20ss.
20. Spagnoli, Battista. *Parthenice Mariana* (Paris, Jean Petit, [1510]). 8°. – USTC 183055. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.7454 [→4].
21. Tasso, Bernardo. *Rime* (Venice, Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1560). 12°. – USTC 858234. – Grenoble BM, F.108. Limp parchment. Purchased: Milan, 1582, 28ss./15ss.⁵⁷
22. Vergilius Publius, Maro. *Publius Virgilius Maro, Et in eum Commentationes, & Paralipomena* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1575). 2°. – USTC 401673. – Grenoble BM, A.2539. Parchment, trace of ties. Bp: Expilly. Purchased: 1579, 1 livre 20ss.

57 The first price is registered on upper paste-down, the second on the titlepage; this might suggest that a second work was purchased with this one, for the price of 13ss.

23. Tasso, Torquato. *Scielta delle rime* (Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini, 1582). 4°. – USTC 858329. – Grenoble BM, F.10715. Cardboard binding, original, covered in signatures and doodles; same on the upper endleaf (it looks as if he was practising his signature). Purchased: Padua or Venice, 1582, 30ss.⁵⁸ Second hand (signature “Labaise” on upper endleaf). Several annotations.

Between Graduation and Marriage (1583–1589)

24. De la Salle, Antoine. *Histoire du Petit Jehan de Saintré*. Paris BnF, ms Français 19169. Purchased: 1583. Annotated.
25. Alciato, Andrea. *Iuris libri tres* (Lyon, Jean Barbou : haer. Simon Vincent, 1538). 8°. – USTC 126678. – Grenoble BM, F.11563. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1587, 11ss. A few annotations.
26. Balbi, Goffredo Lanfranco. *Obseruationes nonnullarum in iure decisionum* (Lyon, Vincent de Portonariis, 1538). 8°. – USTC 147475. – Grenoble BM, F.13517. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1587.
27. Bossi, Egidio. *Tractatus varii qui omnem fere criminalem materiam excellenti doctrina complectuntur* (Lyon, Filippo Tinghi, 1575). 2°. – USTC 141324. – Grenoble BM, B.1106. Brown calf, gold-tooled louange motif on boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: Grenoble, 1587, 1 livre.
28. Brant, Sebastian. *De origine et conuersatione bonorum regum : & laude ciuitatis Hierosolymae* (Basle, Johann Bergmann, 1495). – USTC 743666. – Grenoble BM, I.261. Hand-coloured title page. Purchased: 1587.
29. Bruneau, Jean. *Tractatus de sponsalibus et matrimonis* ([Paris, Pierre Vidoué, 1521 for] Orléans, Jacques Houys). 4°. – USTC 184120. – Grenoble BM, D.3854. Tanned calf, blind-tooled, French. Purchased: 1587, 7ss., second or third hand (previous owner: “Vardinoius consiliarius dalphinalis”, signature on title page; upper paste-down, hand of Expilly “7 sol ex bibliotheca rusei (?) praesidis”).
30. Cipolla, Bartolomeo. *Varii tractatus* (Lyon, Godefroy & Marcellin Beringen, 1547). 8°. – USTC 149908. – Grenoble BM, F.6884. Sheepskin. Purchased: 1589, 20ss. Third hand: upper paste-down “ex libris dni bertier emptus”; another signature on TP and at the end of the book, dated 1569.⁵⁹
31. Constantinus Harmenopulus; Mercier, Jean (T). *Promptuarium Juris civilis* (Lausanne, François Le Preux, 1580). 8°. – USTC 450874. – Grenoble

⁵⁸ On recto upper endleaf he writes “30ss 1582 a Padoue”; on titlepage: “30 solz a Venise 1582”.

⁵⁹ This book was purchased in 1589, the year of Expilly’s marriage; being as it is a third-hand book, it is consistent with the purchasing trends of before the wedding, therefore we place it here; but it remains an assumption.

- BM, F.11564. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1584, 12ss. Second hand (upper endleaf, not in Expilly's hand, note: "commodauit auunculus").
32. Corvesi, Pietro. *In titulum de testamentis, sive de forma et observationibus testandi, tractatus ad methodum* (Lyon, Thibault Payen, 1551). 8°. – USTC 126249. – Grenoble BM, F.13741 [→55].
 33. Crinito, Pietro. *De honesta disciplina. De poetis latinis. Poematum* (Paris, Pierre Gadoul, 1518). – USTC 207010. – Grenoble BM, B.2518. Leather, blind-tooled, French. Restored on spine. Purchased: 1586. Second hand (deleted annotation on title page).
 34. Demosthenes; Aeschines. *Orationes adversariae* (Paris, Christian Wechel, 1543). 4°. – USTC 140896. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.4907–4910. Brown calf, blind- and gold-tooled. Seahorse, gold-tooled, at centre of boards. Restored. Purchased: 1587, 20ss. Second hand (previous owner: F. Renaud – name gold-tooled on boards and signature on title page).
 35. Dionysius Halicarnassensis. *Artis historicae* (Basle, Pietro Perna, 1579). 8°. – USTC 613473. – Grenoble BM, E.14787. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1586, 35ss.
 36. Domenichi, Lodovico. *La nobiltà delle donne* (Venice, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari & fratelli, 1552 (1551)). 8°. – USTC 827370. – Grenoble BM, E.30356 (bound with E.30357). Limp parchment. Purchased: 1589, 15ss. On upper endleaf, recto and verso, ms notes listing books lent to other people.
 37. Faure, Jean. *In Iustiniani imperatoris codicem, breuiarium* (Lyon, Balthazar Arnoullet : Compagnie des libraires, 1550). 2°. – USTC 150570. – Grenoble BM, B.190. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1587, "emptus ex bibliotheca... praesidis" (the upper corner of the page is ripped). Early annotations.
 38. Gamucci, Bernardo; Porcacchi, Tommaso (E). *Le Antichità della città di Roma raccolte sotto brevità da diversi antichi e moderni Scrittori* (Venice, Giovanni Varisco, 1569). 8°. – USTC 831763. – Grenoble BM, F.919. Limp parchment. Second hand (signature on upper endleaf, French sixteenth century: "Ms Jehan"). Purchased: 1587, 30ss.
 39. Garimberti, Girolamo. *Della fortuna libri sei* (Venice, Michele Tramezzino, 1550). 8°. – USTC 831826. – Grenoble BM, E.29215. Leather, gold-tooled. Purchased: 1588.
 40. Garzoni, Tommaso. *Il Theatro de vari e diversi cervelli mondani* (Venice, Paolo Zanfretti, 1583). 4°. – USTC 831900. – Grenoble BM, F.6158 (bound with F.6159). Limp parchment. Purchased: 1584, 30ss.
 41. Giustiniano, Vincenzo. *Commentaria in universam logicam* (Venice, Francesco Ziletti, 1582). 4°. – USTC 836982. – Grenoble BM, C.944. Brown leather, single fillet. Purchased: 1584, 25ss. Annotations in the margins.

42. Guymier, Cosme. *Pragmatica sancti, cum glossis* (Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1546). 8°. – USTC 149658. – Grenoble BM, D.1984. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1587. Second hand (ex-libris on upper endleaf, early sixteenth century hand: “Sum Laurentij Falienis (?)” and motto “Sic viuas ut cras moriturus”).
43. Hotman, François. *Consiliorum volumen primum* (Geneva, Eustache Vignon, 1578). 8°. – USTC 450776. – Grenoble BM, F.13125. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1588, 15ss.
44. Joannes de Garonis. *Commentaria in titulum de secundis nuptiis* ([Lyon] Vincent de Portonariis, 1536). 8°. – USTC 147157. – Grenoble BM, Rés. D.6436 (2) [→54].
45. Kling, Melchior. *Explicatio et continuatio titulorum juris civilis, et canonici* (Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1550). 8°. – USTC 157892. – Grenoble BM, F.11566 (bound with F.11567). Limp parchment. Purchased: 1585, 5ss. Third hand (previous owners, François Tedis and Mignard).
46. Marsili, Ippolito. *Repetitio legis* ([Lyon, Jean Crespin] : Vincent de Portonariis, 1533). 8°. – USTC 156937. – Grenoble BM, F.6833 [→49].
47. Monardes, Nicolás. *Dos libros, el uno trata de todas las cosas que traen de nuestras Indias occidentales que sirven al uso de medicina, el otro libro trata de dos medicinas maravillosas que son contra todo veneno* ([Seville, Sebastián Trujillo, 1565]). 8°. – USTC 340089. – Grenoble BM, F.6572. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1583. Second hand: unidentified monogram on lower paste-down. Some annotations in the margins.
48. Mysinger, Joachim. *Singularium observationum iudicii imp. Camerae centuriae v* (Basle, Eusebius & haer. Nikolaus Episcopus, 1580). 8°. – VD16 M 7464. – Grenoble BM, F.11874. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 3 March 1586, 25ss.
49. Negusanti, Antonio. *Tractatus perutilis de pignoribus et hypothecis* (Lyon, Jacques Myt: Jacques Giunta, 1535). 8°. – USTC 146994. – Grenoble BM, F.6832 (bound with F.6833). Brown calf, blind-tooled, French. Purchased: 1587, 7ss., second hand. Numerous annotations.
50. Nicolas, Jean. *Commentaria in legem generaliter codicis de secundis nuptiis* (Lyon, Vincent de Portonariis, 1536). 8°. – USTC 157103. – Grenoble BM, Rés. D.6436 (4) [→54].
51. Nicolas, Jean. *Repertorium primi tomi commentariorum in titulum de secundis nuptiis* (Lyon, [Vincent de Portonariis], 1536). 8°. – USTC 121320. – Grenoble BM, Rés. D.6436 (3) [→54].
52. Oldendorp, Johann. *Actionum forensium progymnasmata interpretatio* (Lyon, Sébastien Gryphe, 1545). 8°. – USTC 149265. – Grenoble BM, F.13529 (bound with F.13530). Leather, blind-tooled triple fillet and ornament at centre of plates. Purchased: 1587.

53. Oldendorp, Johann. *Loci communes juris civilis* (Lyon, Sébastien Gryphe, 1545). 8°. – USTC 149429. – Grenoble BM, F.13530 [→52].
54. Ripa, Giovanni Francesco da. *Iurisprudentiae alumnus frugiferum de secundis nuptijs opus* ([Lyon] Vincent de Portonariis, 1536). 8°. – USTC 147167. – Grenoble BM, Rés. D.6436 (1). Bound with Rés. D.6436 (2–4). Tanned calf, blind-tooled, French. Restored. Purchased: 1587, second hand. Annotations in the margins.
55. Rossi, Giovanni Antonio. *Tractatus de potestate procuratoris* (Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1552). 8°. – USTC 151212. – Grenoble BM, F.13740 (bound with F.13741). Limp parchment. Purchased: 1585, 12ss. Third hand: signatures François Tedis and Mignard. On upper endleaf, note on books Tedis had lent to Expilly himself: “J’ay de Fran Tedis de st Laurens du pont un petit valere maxime et les bucoliques de virgille annotez par gorreus [...] signé 3 Novembre 1585”.
56. Plinius Minor. *Epistolarum libri decem* (Lyon, Sébastien Gryphe, 1551). 8°. – USTC 150871. – Grenoble BM, F.28052. Limp parchment, ties. Purchased: 1587, second hand (a signature on the title page, top margin, deleted with darker ink and illegible). Various annotations in the margins, from two different periods of his life. On last printed page: “Legi plinium secundum cuius dulcedine captus multas epistolas memoriae mandavi hor me tenuit otium, anno 1583 primum. Et anno 1586 iterum. dum lues urbem gratianopolien tota occuparet ac premeret. Claudius Expillius”.⁶⁰
57. Pape, Guy. *Statutum delphinale* (Grenoble, Bonin Balsarin, [1529]). 4°. – USTC 111259. – Grenoble BM, Rés. V.702. Purchased: 1585.
58. *Pape, Guy. *Super codice* (Lyon, Jean Marion: Simon Vincent, 1517). 4°. – USTC 144765. – Grenoble BM, V.1367 [→59].
59. *Pape, Guy. *Super decretales* (Lyon, Antoine du Ry: Simon Vincent, 1517). 4°. – USTC 144824. – Grenoble BM, V.1366 (bound with V.1367–1368). Sheepskin, trace of ties. Received, second hand: bought by Claude Froment in 1584 and by him given to Expilly in 1608.
60. *Pape, Guy. *Super digesto novo et infortiato* (Lyon, Jean Marion: Simon Vincent, 1517). 4°. – USTC 155342. – Grenoble BM, V.1368 [→59].
61. Raymundus, Joannes. *Epistolarum legalium* (Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1549). 2°. – USTC 150266. – Grenoble BM, F.11567 [→45].
62. Rinaldi, Orazio. *Specchio di scienze, et compendio delle cose* (Venice, Francesco Ziletti, 1583). 4°. – USTC 852619. – Grenoble BM, F.6159 [→40].

60 Of course if we believe the note of purchase, Expilly cannot have been reading his own copy of Pliny in 1583 and 1586. The copy he used at the time was perhaps borrowed from somebody else.

63. Tasso, Torquato. *Rime et prose* (Venice, Giulio Vassalini, MDLXXXIII). 12°. – USTC 858342. – Grenoble BM, F.97. Limp parchment. According to Preda, Expilly received this book on demand in 1584.⁶¹
64. Tedeschi, Niccolò. *Nobilissimus ac prestantissimus tractatus super consilio Basiliensi* (Lyon, s.n., [1540]). 8°. – USTC 157379. – Grenoble BM, F.20168. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1587, 5ss.
65. Zasius, Johann Ulrich. *Responsorum iuris ciuilibi libri II* (Lyon, Godefroy & Marcellin Beringen, 1545). 8°. – USTC 157636. – Grenoble BM, F.13518. Leather, blind-tooled. Purchased: 1583.
66. Tartagni, Alessandro (C). *In primam et secundam codicis partem* (Lyon, Compagnie des libraires, 1549). 2°. – USTC 150182. – Grenoble BM, A.1245c [→68].
67. Tartagni, Alessandro (C). *In primam et secundam digesti novi partem* (Lyon, Gaspar Trechsel: Compagnie des libraires, 1549). 2°. – USTC 124934. – Grenoble BM, A.1245b [→68].
68. Tartagni, Alessandro (C). *In primam et secundam digesti veteris partem* (Lyon, Compagnie des libraires, 1549). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.1245a (Set of 4 vols A.1245a-d). [includes the tome with the *Repertorium super lectiones*] Sheepskin. Purchased: 1589 (either before or after Expilly married Isabeau Bonneton).
69. Tartagni, Alessandro (C). *In secundam infortiati partem* (Lyon, Compagnie des libraires, 1549). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.1245d (2) [→68].
70. Tartagni, Alessandro (C). *Super prima infortiati* (Lyon, Compagnie des libraires, 1547). 2°. – USTC 157749. – Grenoble BM, A.1245d (1) [→68].

After Marriage

71. Adriani, Giovanni Battista. *Istoria de Suoi tempi* (Florence, Giunti, 1583). 2°. – USTC 807801. – Grenoble BM, B.1659. Limp parchment. Bp: Expilly. Purchased: 1602, 3 livres 10ss.
72. Adrichem, Christiaan van. *Theatrum terrae sanctae* (Cologne, Arnold Mylius, 1593). 2°. – USTC 696449. – Grenoble BM, A.623. Purchased: Paris, 1598, 3 livres.
73. Aeschylus; Estienne, Henri (E); Vettori, Pietro (E). *Tragoediae VII* ([Geneva,] Henri Estienne, 1557). 4°. – USTC 450455. Sale: Christie's 6222, London, November 1999, no. 26. – Purchased: 1600. Second hand: signature "Chauasse" on title page.

⁶¹ Preda, "Tra Tasso e Montaigne", p. 436.

74. Agrippa, Henricus Cornelius; Piccolomini, Alessandro. *Della Nobilita et eccellenza delle donne. Con una oratione in lode delle medesime* (Venice, Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1549). 8°. – USTC 808124. – Grenoble BM, E.30357 [→36]. [time of purchase inferred]
75. Agustín, Antonio. *Discorsi sopra le medaglie et altre anticaglie divisi in XI dialoghi tradotti dalla lingua spagnuola nell'italiana* (Rome, Presso Ascanio, et Girolamo Donangeli, 1592). 4°. – USTC 808137. – Grenoble BM, D.4193. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1600, 1 livre 20ss.
76. Albergati, Fabio. *Trattato del modo di ridurre a pace l'inimicitie priuate* (Rome, per Francesco Zannetti, 1583). 2°. – USTC 808207. – Grenoble BM, B.2690. Limp parchment. Thoroughly annotated in Italian. Upper endleaves: ms bibliography on the topic of duel. Purchased: 1607, 1 livre 10ss.
77. Aleandro, Girolamo jr. *Antiquae Tabulae marmoreae solis effigie, symbolisque exculptae accurata explicatio* (Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy, 1617). 4°. – Grenoble BM, D.1780. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1618, 1 livre.
78. Antoninus, St. *Chronica Antonini archipraesulis Florentini* (Lyon, Gilles & Jacques Huguetan, 1543). 2°. – USTC 140797. – Black leather, blind-tooled. Set of three volumes. Purchased: 1614.
79. *Apollonius Rhodius; Estienne, Henri (E). *Argonauticon libri IIII cum annotationibus* ([Geneva], Henri Estienne, 1574). 4°. – USTC 450661. – Grenoble BM, F.4416. Limp parchment. Upper endleaf: price “12ss”, not in Expilly's hand. Received: 1600 “dono doctoris nob. Boneti Camberiensis”. On title page, signature “L Chauasse”.
80. Aristoteles. *Commentariorum in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis stagiritae* (Cologne, Lazarus Zetzner, 1596). 4°. – USTC 623556. – Grenoble BM, C.1853. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1600, 1 livre 55ss.
81. Aubéry, Claude. *De fide catholica apostolica romana, contra apostatas* (Lausanne, Jean Chiquelle, 1587). 8°. – USTC 451787. – Grenoble BM, F.19867. Limp parchment, French. Trace of ties. Purchased: 1606.
82. Aufréri, Etienne. *Stilus supreme curie parlamenti parisiensis et tolosani* (Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1542). 4°. – USTC 140754. – Grenoble BM, C.3761. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1592, 25ss.
83. Ausonius, Decimus Magnus. *Omnia, quae adhinc in veteribus bibliothecis inveniri potuerunt, opera* (Bordeaux, Simon Millanges, [1580]). 4°. – USTC 110042. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.5817. Tanned calf, single fillet, gold-tooled medallion at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1607, 1 livre 20ss.
84. Barbosa, Pedro. *Tractatus varii* (Frankfurt am Main, Zacharias Palthenius, 1606). 2°. – VD17 1:015164G. – Grenoble BM, B.1857. Brown calf, single fillet,

- gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Purchased: Lyon, 1608, 3 livres 30ss.
85. Baronio, Cesare; Bellarmino, Roberto. *Scriptis* (Vittorio Veneto, Marco Claseri, 1606). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.97 [→139].
 86. Bernardo, Giovanni Battista. *Seminarium totius philosophiae aristotelicae et platonicae* (Lyon (=Geneva), in officina Jacob Stoer & François le Fevre, 1599). 2°. – USTC 203011. – Grenoble BM, B.1414. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Set of two volumes. Purchased: Paris, 1599, 2 livres 30ss. (first vol.), 1 livre 20ss. (second vol.).
 87. Bertaut, Jean. *Recueil des oeuvres poétiques* (Paris, Lucas II Breyer & Abel L'Angelier, 1605). 8°. – USTC 1114340 – Balsamo and Simonin, no. 339 p. 409. – Grenoble BM, F.2372. Purchased: 1606.
 88. Bertier, Philippe de. *In regis consistorio consilarii, et in Senatu Tolosano praesidis, diatribae duae* (Toulouse, vid. Jacques Colomiez & Raymond Colomiez, 1608). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.991. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1610.
 89. Bibliander, Theodor. *Alcoran. Confutatio legis Mahumeticae* (Basle, Johann Oporinus, 1550). 2°. – USTC 674635. – Grenoble BM, B.1930. Bp: Expilly. Purchased: 1602, 2 livres.
 90. *Boccaccio, Giovanni; Sansovino, Francesco (E). *Il Filocopo* (Venice [Domenico Giglio], for Francesco Rampazetto, 1554). 8°. – USTC 814845. – Grenoble BM, E.29408. Received: 1613, gift of Monsieur de Chapponay.
 91. Bohic, Henri. *In quinque decretalium libros commentaria* (Venice, haer. Girolamo Scoto, 1576). 2°. – USTC 815115. – Grenoble BM, B.418. Brown calf, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards, single fillet. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1607, 2 livres 30ss.
 92. Bolognetti, Giovanni. *In primam [-secundam] codicis partem* (Venice, Giovanni Griffio : Giovanni Varisco, Melchiorre Sessa & Battista Calegari, 1572). 2°. – USTC 815944. – Grenoble BM, A.1982. Tanned calf, gold-tooled medallion at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1607.
 93. Bonfini, Antonio. *Antonii Bonfinii rerum Ungaricarum decades tres* (Basle, Robert Winter, 1543). 2°. – USTC 611995. – Grenoble BM, B.2300. Brown calf, blind-tooled, gold-tooled at centre of boards. Purchased: 1598, 1 livre 40ss.
 94. Botero, Giovanni. *Relationi universali di Giovanni Botero senese: divise in tre parti* (Brescia, Compagnia Bresciana, 1595). 4°. 4 parts. – USTC 816575. – Grenoble BM, F.6121. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1596, 1 livre.
 95. Botero, Giovanni. *Theatrum principum orbis universi* (Cologne, Lambert Andreae, 1596). 2°. – USTC 696448. – Grenoble BM, A.1800. Brown calf,

- single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1599, 2 livres 20ss.
96. Boutellier, Jean. *Somme rural, ou le grand coustumier général de pratique civil et canon* (Paris, Barthelemy Macé, 1603). 4°. – Sale: “Alde”, Paris, February 2010, no. 32. – Purchased: 1605.
 97. Boyssat, Pierre de. *Recherches sur les duels* (Lyon, Irenée Barlet, 1610). 4°. – Grenoble BM, V.638. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1610.
 98. Brisson, Barnabé. *De Verborum quae ad jus pertinent significatione libri XIX* (Paris, Sébastien Nivelles, 1596). 2°. – USTC 158438. – Grenoble BM, A.2163. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1604, 4 livres.
 99. Casaubon, Isaac. *Animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas libri XV* (Lyon, vid. Antoine de Harsy & Pierre Ravaud, 1621). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.1508. Sheepskin, single fillet. Purchased: 1632, 1 livre.
 100. Cassander, Georg. *Opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia* (Paris, Abraham Pacard, 1616). 2°. – Grenoble BM, B.1210. Dark-brown calf, double fillet, gold-tooled on spine panels. Bp: Expilly. Purchased: Paris, 1625, 3 livres.
 101. Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de; Ulloa, Alfonso de (T). *Historia dell'Indie orientali* (Venice, Giordano Ziletti, 1578). 4°. – USTC 819311. – Grenoble BM, D.164. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1600, 1 livre 30ss.
 102. *Castelvetro, Lodovico. *Spaccio di maestro Pasquino romano* (Parma, Seth Viotti, 1558). 4°. – USTC 819044. – Grenoble BM, C.44. Limp parchment. Received: 1613, gift of Monsieur de Chapponay, who was the previous owner of the book.
 103. *Chanteclair, Charles de. *Excerpta de legationibus* (Paris, Pierre Chevalier, 1609). 8°. – Grenoble BM, F.11523. Semi-limp parchment. Received: Paris, 1619, “dono dedit dominus Boruffeus (?)”.
 104. Charlemagne, emperor; Louis I, emperor; Ansegisus, saint (E); Benedictus Levita (E). *Capitula, sive leges ecclesiasticae et civilis* (Paris, Claude Chappellet, 1603). 8°. – Grenoble BM, F.11897. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1604, 32ss.
 105. Cless, Johann. *Virorum litteratorum elenchus, ab anno 1500 ad 1602* (Frankfurt am Main, Johannes Saur: Peter Kopf, 1602). 4°. – VD17 23:000316G. – Grenoble BM, D.1740. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: Lyon, 1603, 1 livre. Some marks in the margins to highlight volumes Expilly owned.
 106. *Concordias canonice vel leges Romanorum* (ms, Latin). Paris BnF, ms Latin 9653. Bp Expilly. Second hand. Purchased 1609. “Ab haeredibus Lescurii emptum habeo Claudius Expillius consiliarius et advocatus generalis regius in senatu Gratianopolitano 1609”.

107. Corboli, Aurelio. *De Emphytentis et Causis ex quibus suo Jure privantur tractatus* (Urbino, Roberto Meietti, 1602). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.2033. Limp parchment. Purchased: Lyon, 1603, 2 livres 35ss.
108. *Courtenay Family. *Representation du procédé* (Paris, s.n., 1613). 8°. – Grenoble BM, F.6562. Received: 1613, “a moy donne”.
109. Cresci, Pietro. *Tullia feroce tragedia* (Venice, Giovanni Battista Somasco, 1591). 8°. – USTC 824600. – Grenoble BM, F.1304. Cardboard. Acquisition: 1598.
110. Cumia, Giuseppe. *In ritus magnae regiae curiae, ac totius regni Siciliae curiarum commentaria* (Venice, Domenico & Giovanni Battista Guerra, 1578). 2°. – USTC 825088. – Grenoble BM, A.1906. Tanned calf, single fillet, gold-tooled medallion at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1607, 1 livre 30ss.
111. Curia Dalphinalis. *Declaratio stilli sigillati* (Tournon, Claude Michel, 1601). 8°. – Grenoble BM, X.801. Limp parchment; cover made out of recycled material. Purchased: 1609.
112. Daléchamps, Jacques. *Histoire générale des plantes* (Lyon, haer. G. Rouillé, 1615). 2°. – Grenoble BM, B.351. 2 volumes. Sheepskin binding, remade on the first volume, original on the second. Single fillet on plates. Purchased 1624. Bp Expilly, Caulet, Lesdiguières. No annotations.
113. Decio, Filippo. *Super titulo de Privilegiis nunc ad publicam studiosorum utilitatem* (Pavia, Girolamo Bartoli, 1565). 2°. – USTC 825923. – Grenoble BM, C.777 [→143].
114. Delrío, Martín Antonio. *Syntagmatis tragici pars ultima, seu nouus commentarius in decem tragoedias* (Antwerp, vid. & Jan Moretus, 1594). 4°. – USTC 430171. – Grenoble BM, F.5809 bis [→115].
115. Delrío, Martín Antonio. *Syntagma tragoediae latinae, in tres partes distinctum* (Antwerp, vid. & Jan Moretus, 1593). 4°. – USTC 402286. – Grenoble BM, F.5809 (bound with F.5809bis). Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of plates. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: Paris, 1602, 2 livres 10ss. Thoroughly annotated.
116. *De re funerea, ad magistrum Thomam Francum Grecum, phisicum regium*. Grenoble BM, CGM 873. Signed “Symon Cailleau” (15th c.). Presumably part of the Bibliothèque du Roy in Blois. Purchased: 1607.
117. Diodorus Siculus; Le Roy, Louis (E); Amyot, Jacques (T). *Histoire* (Paris, Mathieu Guillemot, 1585). 2°. – USTC 21073. – Grenoble BM, A.1298. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled medallion at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1607, 1 livre 20ss.
118. Du Choul, Guillaume. *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains* (Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1581). 40. – USTC 6716. – Fécamp BM, ML6. Purchased: 1602.

119. *Du Vair, Guillaume. *Les oeuvres* (Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy, 1625). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.821. Parchment on cardboard. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Expilly's ex-libris is missing, but a nineteenth century librarian left an annotation that identifies this copy of Du Vair's works as the one sent by Peiresc to Expilly. Title and author ms on spine are in Expilly's hand.
120. Erizzo, Sebastiano. *Discorso sopra le medaglie degli antichi. con la particolare dichiarazione d'esse medaglie* (Venice, Domenico & Giovanni Battista Guerra, 1568). 4°. – USTC 828353. – Grenoble BM, D.4176. Limp parchment. Purchased: Paris, 1600, 40ss.
121. *Estienne, Henri (E). *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis* (Geneva, Henri Estienne, 1566). 2°. – USTC 450554. – Grenoble BM, B.1514. Limp parchment. Received: 1600 "dono dni Boneti Camberiensis". Signature "Chauasse" on title page.
122. Eusebius Caesariensis; Constantinus Magnus; Christopherson, John (T). *Historiae ecclesiasticae scriptores graeci* (Paris, Nicolas Bruslé : Claude Frémy & Nicolas Chesneau, 1571). 2°. – USTC 170052. – Grenoble BM, B.1516. Leather, blind-tooled, gold-tooled decoration on boards. Second hand (binding from previous owner). Bp: Expilly. Acquisition 1589, 1 livre 5ss.
123. Expilly, Claude. *Les poèmes* (Grenoble, Pierre Verdier, 1624). 4°. – Grenoble BM, Rés. Vh.7754. Title page "Pour Monsieur Chabrillan", deleted in the dark ink normally used by Expilly.⁶² Limp parchment; a few corrections in the margins. The ex-libris of Expilly is not present, probably because he had meant to give this as a present.
124. Expilly, Claude. *Plaidoyez* (Lyon, Simon Rigaud, 1628). 4°. – Grenoble BM, V.1378. Interfoliated copy, used as a basis for a later edition of the same work, thoroughly annotated and corrected.
125. Expilly, Claude. *Tombeau de Laurens de Chaponay, seigneur de Bresson, gentil-homme dauphinois* (Lyon, Amy de Polier, 1616). 4°. – Grenoble BM, V.631. Recycled parchment used for the cover. With ms corrections and additional notes. Laurens de Chapponay was Expilly's son-in-law. There might be a later state of this edition, as this one appears to be an early copy used for proofreading.
126. *Falcoz, Aymar. *Antoniana historiae compendium* (Lyon, Thibault Payen, 1534). 2°. – USTC 156994. – Grenoble BM, R.247 Rés. Tanned calf, blind-tooled. Restored on spine. Received: 1617, "dono dedit dominus de Blagnieu". Signature "Blagnieu" on title page. A few annotations in the margins.

62 See Catilhon, *Vie de Claude Expilly*, p. 91.

127. Fauchet, Claude. *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie françoise* (Paris, Mamert Patisson, 1581). 4°. – USTC 21051. – Grenoble BM, V.715. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1595, 30ss.
128. Fauchet, Claude. *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie françoise* (Paris, Mamert Patisson, 1581). 4°. – USTC 21051. – Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rothschild 220. Purchased: 30 September 1598.⁶³ According to BnF, bound in Paris by Trautz-Bauzonnet.
129. Favre, Antoine. *Les Gordians et Maximins, ou l'ambition* (Chambéry, Claude Pomar, 1589). 4°. – USTC 30672. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.6486. Limp parchment. Purchased: Chambéry, 1600, 20ss.
130. Flaminio, Marcantonio. *In librum psalorum brevis explanatio* (Paris, Jean Ruelle, 1547). 16°. – USTC 195932. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.20408. Brown calf, partially restored. Purchased: 1579, 15ss. Possibly second hand (portion of title page under imprint has been cut, perhaps had signature on). On title page inscription “Hen: Cor: Agrippa”, in sixteenth century hand.⁶⁴
131. Freculphus Lexoviensis. *Chronicorum tomi duo* (Cologne, Arnold Birckmann, 1539). 2°. – USTC 658226. – Grenoble BM, B.2797. Second hand: annotation by previous owner on upper endleaf “Franciscus Barrolus (?)”. Purchased: 1591, 40ss.
132. Fuligni, Valerio. *Bragadino tragedia* (Pesaro, Girolamo Concordia, 1589). 8°. – USTC 831105. – Grenoble BM, F.1308 (bound with F.1309). Cardboard.
133. *Genealogia comitum Nassoviae* (Leiden, Jan Janszn Orlers, 1616). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.1940. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1619.
134. Gherardi, Pietro. *Vita di Ezzellino terzo da romano* (Venice, Francesco Lorenzini, 1560). 8°. – USTC 832285. – Grenoble BM, E.14010. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1607, 10ss.
135. Gillot, Jacques. *Traictez des droitz et libertez de l'église Gallicane* (Paris, Pierre Chevalier, 1609). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.15819. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1609, 36ss. With annotations and ms table of content at the end of the volume.
136. Giovio, Paolo. *Elogia virorum bellica virtute* (Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551). 2°. – USTC 833175. – Grenoble BM, B.1549–1550. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: Paris, 1 livre 20ss.
137. Giustiniani, Benedetto. *In omnes Beati Pauli apostoli epistolas explanationum* (Lyon, Horace Cardon, 1612). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.1020. Brown

63 This is a second copy of the same edition, bought a few years after the first one.

64 Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, the German alchemist, died in Grenoble in 1535 so he cannot have signed the book. It was possibly someone referring to him, or his namesake.

- calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: Lyon, 1612, 2 livres 40ss.
138. Grattarolo, Bongiani. *Polissena. Tragedia* (Venice, Altobello Salicato, 1589). 8°. – USTC 834007. – Grenoble BM, F.1305. Cardboard. Purchased: 7ss.
 139. Gualdo, Paolo. *Vita Joannis Vincentii Pinelli* (Augsburg, Christoph Mang, 1607). 4°. – VD17 23:230324 F. – Grenoble BM, C.95 (bound with C.96–97). Limp parchment. Purchased: Torino, 1634, 40ss. With annotations and corrections (limited to C.95).
 140. Guymier, Cosme. *Pragmatica sanctio, cum concordatis* (Lyon, Macé Bonhomme : Antoine Vincent, [1538 (=1539 n.s.)]). 8° – USTC 112963. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.17507. Purchased: 1600.
 141. **Historiae Byzantinae* (Geneva, Pierre de La Roviére, 1615). 2°. – Sale Osenat, November 2011, no. 54. – Ex-dono of the printer, and Expilly's signature, on title page.
 142. **Hozier, Pierre d'. Genealogie et alliances de la maison des sieurs de Larbour, dicts de Combauld* (Paris, Mathurin Henault, 1629). 4°. – Grenoble BM, D.93. Semi-limp parchment. Received: 12 August 1629, gift of the author (verso upper endleaf: "pour Monsieur Expilly par lautheur son seruiteur tres humble D'Hoziers"; title page: "Des liures de Claude Expilly 1629 le 12 d'Aout du don de l'auteur").⁶⁵
 143. Jordán z Klausenburku, Tomáš. *Historia Boiémica* (Basel, Pietro Perna, 1575). 2°. – USTC 667031. – Grenoble BM, C.775–776 (bound with C.777). Tanned calf, single fillet, gold-tooled medallion at centre of boards. Purchased: 1607, 1 livre 25ss.
 144. **La Ceppède, Jean de. Les theoremes sur le sacré mistere de notre redemption* (Toulouse, vid. Jacques Colomiez, & Raymond Colomiez, 1613). – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.6425. Received: 1616, gift of the author. Copy bound with letter from La Ceppède to Expilly, sent together with the volume, dated 2 June 1616.
 145. La Guesle, Jacques de. *Les Remonstrances* (Paris, Pierre Chevalier, 1611). 2°. – Grenoble BM, C.6030. Leather, double fillet. Purchased: Paris, 1611, 8 ss. (?).
 146. Lancre, Pierre Rosteguy, sieur de. *Tableau de l'inconstance* (Paris, vid. Abel L'Angelier, 1610). 4°. – Balsamo and Simonin p. 387: 510. – Grenoble BM, C.825. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1610.

65 A copy of the 1628 edition, now Lyon BM, 319826, is addressed to a "Monsieur Des...", with a similar dedication. Gabriel Naudé also received a complimentary copy of a later publication by d'Hozier. See Estelle. Boeuf, *La Bibliothèque parisienne de Gabriel Naudé en 1630. Les lectures d'un "libertin érudit"* (Geneva, Droz, 2007), p. 96 n. 688.

147. La Roque, Siméon Guillaume de. *Les Secondes Amours* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1599). 8°. – USTC 55506; Balsamo and Simonin no. 323 p. 297. – Grenoble BM, F.2394.
148. Le Bret, Cardin. *Remonstrances faictes aux ouvertures du parlement* (Paris, Jacques Quesnel, 1627). 8°. – Grenoble BM, F.12572. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1627, 32ss.
149. Lect, Jacques. *Adversus codicis Fabriani* (Geneva, Pierre de La Roviére, 1607). 8°. – Grenoble BM, F.11851. Parchment over cardboard. Purchased: 1608, 10ss.
150. Leonardo de Argensola, Bartolomé. *Conquista de las islas Malucas* (Madrid, Alonso Martín, 1609). 2°. – USTC 5024466 – Grenoble BM, Rés. B.2806. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1611, 1 livre.
151. Leschassier, Jacques. *Observations de J. Leschassier* (Paris, Claude Morel, 1602). 8°. – Grenoble BM, F.13539–13544. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: Paris, 1612, 12ss.
152. Lombardelli, Orazio. *Discorso intorno ai contrasti, che si fanno sopra la Gierusalemme liberata di Torquato Tasso* (Ferrara, Giulio Vassalini, 1586). 12°. – USTC 838515. – Grenoble BM, E.29440 [→197].
153. Löw, Conrad. *Italia geographice historiceque tabulis Aeneis 37 delineata* (Cologne, s.n., 1598). 2°. – USTC 668364. – Grenoble BM, A.1801. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Purchased: 1599, 2 livres 20ss.
154. Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus. *Bellorum ciuiliū scriptoris accuratissimi Pharsalia* ([Venice] Guglielmo da Fontaneto, 1520). – USTC 838720. – Grenoble BM, Rés. B.2669. Tanned calf, blind-tooled, French. Restored. Purchased: 1609. Second hand (signature of Pomponne de Bellièvre (senior) on endleaf and title page).
155. Lucianus Samosatensis; Bretin, Filbert (T). *Les Oeuvres de Lucien de Samosate* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1582). 2°. – USTC 21057. – Grenoble BM, Rés. B.1448. Tanned calf, gold-tooled medallion on boards, single fillet. Restored. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1607, 1 livre 40ss.
156. Ludovisi, Giuseppe. *Decisiones seu diffinitiones causarum perusinarum et provinciae umbriae* (Lyon, Pierre Landry, 1582). 2°. – USTC 141921. – Grenoble BM, A.1896. Limp parchment. Purchased: Lyon, 1617, 40ss.
157. Mantica, Francesco. *Decisiones Rotae romanae* (Turin, Giovanni Bellagamba, 1620). 4°. – Grenoble BM, E.6070. Sheepskin. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 1628, 50ss.
158. Marsilius Patavinus. *Imperatori Ludovici IV Bavariae ducis Sententia separationis inter Margaretam, ducissam Corinthiae, et Johannem regis Bohemiae filium* (Heidelberg, haer. Hieronymus Commelinus, 1598).

- 4°. – USTC 665193. – Grenoble BM, E.5895. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1598, 12ss.
159. Mastrillo, Garsia. *Decisionum Consistorii Sacrae regiae conscientiae regni Siciliae* (Venice, Giunti, 1622). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.2110. Parchment over cardboard. Purchased: Lyon, 1628, 1 livre 40ss. On spine: title and serial number 1677.
160. Mayerne, Louis Turquet de. *La Monarchie aristodemocratique* (Paris, Jean Le Bouc, 1611). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.4894. Limp parchment. Purchased: Paris, 1618, 2 livres 8ss. Serial number on spine: 1784.
161. Menini, Ottavio. *De nova stella oratio* (Venice, Giambattista Ciotti, 1606). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.96 [→139].
162. Mesmes, Jean-Pierre de. *Les Institutions astronomiques* (Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1557). 2°. – USTC 867. – Grenoble BM, B.2383. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Purchased: Paris, 1598, 1 livre.
163. *Monod, Pierre. *Amedeus pacificus* (Turin, haer. Giovanni Domenico Tarino, 1624). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.3382. Limp parchment. 1624, gift of the author.
164. Montaigne, Michel. *Essais* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1588). 4°. – USTC 11613; Balsamo and Simonin, no. 204 pp. 239–243. – Grenoble BM, Rés. V.28564. With annotations in the margins in the hand of Expilly and one sonnet “Sur les Essais du Sieur de Montagne”.⁶⁶ The copy has been washed, therefore many of the annotations, including the note of purchase, are scarcely legible, but the book was probably purchased between 1588 and 1596, year of publication of Expilly's *Poèmes*.
165. Montaigne, Michel. *Les Essais* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1595). 4°. – USTC 8225; Balsamo and Simonin no. 258 pp. 266–269. – Catalogue Thomas-Scheler, Biennale des Antiquaires, 1998. Brown calf, laurel wreath tooled on plates.
166. Muñoz de Escobar, Francisco. *De ratiociniis administratorum* (Medina del Campo, Cristóbal Lasso Vaca, 1603). 2°. – USTC 5007623 – Grenoble BM, B.2671. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Bp: Expilly, Caulet (recto upper endleaf). Purchased: 1608, 1 livre 20ss.
167. Opsopäus, Johannes (E); Castellion, Sébastien (E). *Sibylliakoi chrēsmoi hoc est Sibyllina oracula* (Paris, [L'Angelier], 1599). 8°. – USTC 146728. – Grenoble BM, Rés. C.1960. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel

66 This was later published in Expilly's *Poèmes* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1596). See Balsamo and Simonin, pp. 273–274; 268 and Appendix 2.

- wreath at centre of boards and corner decorations, fillet. Purchased: Paris, 1601, 2 livres.
168. Ottonelli, Giulio. *Discorso sopra l'abuso del dire Sua Santità, Sua Maestà, Sua Altezza, Senza nominare il Papa, l'Imperatore, il Principe. Con le difese della Gierusalemme Liberata del Signor Torquato Tasso* (Ferrara, Giulio Vassalini, 1586). 12°. – USTC 845618. – Grenoble BM, E.29443 [→197].
 169. Pasquali, Carlo. *Legatus opus* (Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1598). 8°. – USTC 146648. – Grenoble BM, F.11521. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1598. Various annotations. Recto upper endleaf: list of texts on same topic.
 170. Passi, Giuseppe. *I donneschi diffetti* (Venice, Giacomo Antonio Somasco, 1599). 4°. – USTC 847008. – Grenoble BM, F.6155. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1600, 50ss. Upper endleaf, ms index in French, with indication of subject and page number. Various annotations in the margins and some corrections to the text.
 171. Philostratus Atheniensis; Vigenère, Blaise de (T). *De la Vie d'Apollonius Thianéen* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1599). 4°. – USTC 49326; Balsamo and Simonin no. 326 pp. 298–299. – Grenoble BM, C.73. Semi-limp parchment, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of boards. Purchased: Paris, 1599, 55ss. At the end of the volume, notes on the quality of the text. Trace of title ms on spine, almost illegible.
 172. Philostratus Atheniensis; Vigenère, Blaise de (T). *La Suite de Philostrate* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1597). 4°. – USTC 54220; Balsamo and Simonin no. 296 pp. 285–286. – Grenoble BM, F.7437. Purchased: 1597.
 173. *Philostratus Atheniensis. *Les images, ou tableaux de platte peinture* (Paris, vid. Abel L'Angelier, 1614). 2°. – Balsamo and Simonin, pp. 406–408 : 547; pp. 410–411: 553. – Sale Drouot, Paris May 2007, no. 377. Received: 1619, gift of Madame L'Angelier.⁶⁷
 174. Pignoria, Lorenzo. *De Servis, et eorum apud veteres ministeriis, commentarius* (Augsburg, “ad insigne pinus”, 1613). 4°. – VD17 3:314573E. – Grenoble BM, C.43. Limp parchment. Purchased: Lyon, 1616, 40ss.
 175. Plato. *Opera omnia quae extant* (Lyon, (=Geneva), Guillaume de Laimarie, 1590). 2°. – USTC 451256. – Grenoble BM, B.1180. Brown calf, single fillet, louange motif on boards. Ruled copy. Purchased: Genève, 1600, 4 livres.
 176. Porcacchi, Tommaso; Porro, Girolamo (1). *Funerali antichi di diversi popoli et nationi* (Venice, haer. Simone Galignani, 1591). 2°. – USTC 850889. – Grenoble BM, A.2142. Semi-limp parchment. Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières.

67 Balsamo, “De l'édition aux exemplaires”.

- Purchased: "Je l'ai fait venir de Venise ce 13 d'Aoust 1626 et me couste deux écu".
177. Porcacchi, Tommaso; Porro, Girolamo (1). *L'Isole piu famose del mondo* (Venice, haer. Simone Galignani, 1590). 2°. – USTC 850888. – Grenoble BM, A.2150. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath at centre of plates. Purchased: Paris, 1598, 2 livres 30ss.
 178. Puteanus, Erycius. *Pietatis thaumata in Bernardi Bauhusi è Societae Iesu proteum parthenium* (Antwerp, Balthasar & Jan Moretus, 1617). 4°. – Grenoble BM, F.5883. Parchment. Purchased: 1617.
 179. Radziwiłł, Mikołaj Krzysztof. *Ierosolymitana peregrinatio* (Antwerp, vid. & haer. Jan Moretus, 1614). 2°. – Grenoble BM, B.2034. Purchased: Lyon, 1614, 1 livre.
 180. Ramírez de Prado, Laurentio. *Sive quinquaginta militum ductor Laurentii Ramirez de Prado stipendiis conductus* (Antwerp, Jan van Keerberghen, 1612). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.48. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1614, 1 livre.
 181. Ranchin, Etienne. *Continuatio repetitionis Cap. Raynutius, extra de testamentis super fine tertiae partis* (Lyon, Barthélemy Vincent, 1582). 2°. – USTC 141910; FB 84404. – Grenoble BM, A.2367. Purchased: 1635, 25ss.
 182. Rebuffi, Pierre. *Repetitiones variae* (Lyon, haer. Guillaume Rouillé, 1615). 2°. – Grenoble BM, B.1183. Parchment on cardboard. Title on spine in the hand of Expilly. Bp: Expilly. Ms index on A2v. Purchased: 1626, 1 livre 40ss.
 183. *Rerum hispanicarum scriptorum tomus prior* (Frankfurt am Main, Andreas Wechel, 1579). 2°. – USTC 690683. – Grenoble BM, B.1817 (set of twin vols B.1817–1818). Limp parchment. Purchased: 1594, 2 livres 30ss ("duo volumina").
 184. *Rerum hispanicarum scriptorum tomus posterior* (Frankfurt am Main, Andreas Wechel, 1579). 2°. – USTC 690698. – Grenoble BM, B. 1818 (set of twin vols B.1817–1818).
 185. Rho, Alessandro da. *Aurearum Decisionum pisanarum liber doctissimo* (Speier, Johann Philipp Spieß, 1602). 2°. – VD17 547:640146 L. – Grenoble BM, A.1894. Limp parchment. Purchased: Lyon, 1603, 1 livre.
 186. Riva di San Nazzaro, Gianfrancesco. *Interpretationum et responsorum libritres* (Avignon, Jean de Channey, 1527). 2°. – USTC 110516. – Grenoble BM, B.2882. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1592, 15ss. Second hand (annotation in different hand on upper endleaf).
 187. Robert, Claude. *Gallia christiana, in qua regni Franciae ditionumque vicinarum dioeceses* (Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy, 1626). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.1511. Parchment over cardboard, seventeenth century. Title on spine.

- Bp: Expilly, Lesdiguières. Purchased: 2 livres 30ss. Trace of writing on spine in Expilly's hand.
188. *Rocca, Angelo. *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (Rome, Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1591). 4^o. – USTC 852771. – Grenoble BM, F.8428. Received: 1613, from Avignon lawyer Le Gras, possibly third hand (see notes on title page: “Ex libris Claudij Expillij 1613 dono dedit domini le Gras Aduocatus Auenionensis”; below: “Petrus Du Blanc autoris nepos”).
 189. Salas, Juan de. *Tractatus de legibus, in primam secundae S. Thomae* (Lyon, Laurent Durand, 1611). 2^o. – Grenoble BM, B.353. Parchment over cardboard. Purchased: 1611, 1 livre 20ss.
 190. *Sansovino, Francesco. *Historia universale dell'origine, et imperio de' Turchi* (Venice, Altobello Salicato, 1582). 2^o. – USTC 854827. – Grenoble BM, D.1796. Semi-limp parchment. Received: 1594, gift of monsieur de Royson (note on upper endleaf: “Lyure pour randre A monsieur expyly”; “Des liures de Claude Expilly a moy dōne par monsr de Royson”).
 191. Sole, Brunorus a. *Loci Communes juris Caesarei* (Jena, Tobias Steinmann: Henning Grosse, 1607). 4^o. – VD17 1:008089 N. – Grenoble BM, P.2221. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1608, 1 livre 20ss.
 192. Sophocles; Valvasone, Erasmo da (T). *Elettra tragedia* (Venice, Domenico & Giovanni Battista Guerra, 1588). 8^o. – USTC 857028. – Grenoble BM, F.1309 [→132].
 193. Sorgente, Muzio. *Aureus tractatus de Neapoli* (Naples, Tarquinio Longo, 1602). 2^o. – Grenoble BM, A.1992. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled laurel wreath. Purchased: 1603, 3 livres. Extensive index of the volume on upper endleaf, French and Latin. Annotations in the margins.
 194. Suetonius Tranquillus, Caius; Beroaldo, Filippo (C). *Vitae XII Caesarum* (Bologna, Benedetto Faelli, 1493). 2^o. – USTC 990752. – Grenoble BM, Rés. I.290. Incomplete copy. Purchased: 1608, 25ss. Second hand (first owner was Italian). Annotations in the margins.
 195. Tabouet, Julien. *Orationes forenses, et responsa iudicum illustrium* (Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1551). 8^o. – USTC 150944. – Grenoble BM, F.13531. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1607, 10ss.
 196. Tacitus, Cornelius; Lipsius, Justus (E). *Opera quae exstant* (Antwerp (=Leiden), Christophe Plantin : Franciscus Raphelengius, 1589). 2^o. – USTC 406848. – Grenoble BM, D.7754. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1594, 1 livre. A few annotations.
 197. Tasso, Torquato. *Apologia, in difesa della sua Gierusalemme liberata* (Ferrara, Giulio Vassalini, 1586). 12^o. – USTC 858363 (first part).⁶⁸ – Grenoble

68 The second part of this edition is bound as E.29442 in the same recueil.

- BM, E.29439 (bound with E.29440–29443). Limp parchment. Purchased: 1590.
198. Tasso, Torquato. *Di Gerusalemme conquistata* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1595). 12°. – USTC 206658; Balsamo and Simonin, no. 263. – Bergamo BM.
 199. Tasso, Torquato. *Il re Torrismondo tragedia* (Torino, Giovanni Michele & Giovanni Vincenzo Cavalleri, 1588). 12°. – USTC 858400. – Grenoble BM, F.1311. Semi-limp parchment; on upper plate “pere pierre Rossiglion recteur de Tournon”. Purchased: 1590.
 200. Tasso, Torquato. *Risposta del S. Torq. Tasso, al discorso del sig. Oratio Lombardelli intorno a i contrasti, che si fanno sopra la Gierusalemme liberata* (Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini, 1586). 12°. – USTC 858363 (second part). – Grenoble BM, E.29442 [→197].
 201. Tasso, Torquato. *Risposta del S. Torquato Tasso, alla lettera di Bastian Rossi, Academico della Crusca, in difesa del suo dialogo del Piacere Honesto* (Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini : Giulio Vassalini, 1585). 12°. – USTC 858358. – Grenoble BM, E.29441 [→197].
 202. Thyraeus, Petrus. *Daemoniaci hoc est : De obsessis a spiritibus Daemoniorum hominibus, liber unus* (Cologne, Goswin Cholinus, 1598). 4°. – USTC 626668. – Grenoble BM, C.896 [→203].
 203. Thyraeus, Petrus. *Loca infesta hoc est de infestis, ob molestantes daemoniorum et defunctorum hominum spiritus, locis, liber unus* (Cologne, Goswin Cholinus, 1598). 4°. – USTC 673124. – Grenoble BM, C.895 (bound with C.896). Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1600, 30ss.
 204. Tomasi, Pietro. *In consuetudines feudorum Compendium* (Cologne, Johannes Birckmann & Dietrich Baum, 1567). 8°. – USTC 683564. – Grenoble BM, F.5229. Semi-limp parchment. Purchased: 1601, 12ss.
 205. *Tomasini, Giacomo Filippo. *Illustrium virorum elogia* (Padua, Donato Pasquardi & Co., 1630). 4°. – Grenoble BM, V.10825. Limp parchment. Received: Torino, 1634 “Dono dedit Excellentiss. dominus Benzonus praes in Senato Pedemont 1634 Taurini”.
 206. *Tomasini, Giacomo Filippo. *Petrarcha redivivus* (Padua, Paolo Frambotto, 1633). 4°. – Grenoble BM, C.74. Semi-limp parchment, not original. Title page: “Ex libris Claudij Expillij 1635 Donum authoris”: gift of the author. The gathering 2†4 is missing from this copy, which may suggest it was sent before the printing process was over. A few annotations in the margins, mainly corrections to the text.
 207. *Tractatus singulares et in praxi Contingibiles diversorum doctorum* (Lyon, Simon Vincent, [1519]). 4°. – USTC 145157. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.11182. Tanned calf, blind-tooled, French. Purchased: 1590, 7ss. Second hand (previous owner, “R Mehenze Beaujeu frana...”).

208. *Tragedia del conte di Camerano, cognominata il Tancredi, et altri sonetti, et canzoni d'alui composte*. Grenoble BM, CGM 877. Upper endleaf: "Ce livre m'a cousté quatre escus dans la ville de Thurin, le 26 février 1590. Expilly".
209. *Trotti, Bernardo. *Dialoghi del matrimonio, e vita vedouile* (Turin, Francesco Dolce, 1578). 4° – USTC 861346. – Grenoble BM, F.6166. Received as a gift: "Du don de Monsieur le General de Chastellet a Valence le 28 de Juin 1607".
210. Vallès, Claude-Antoine de. *Le Theatre d'honneur de plusieurs princes* (Paris, Jean Leclerc, 1618). 2°. – Sale Beaussant-Lefèvre, December 2006, no. 153. – Signed by Expilly.
211. Vaz, Álvaro. *Consultationum ac Rerum juridicarum in regno Lusitaniae* (Lisbon, Antonio Álvares et Sebastião de Carvalho, 1593). 4°. – USTC 347230. – Grenoble BM, C.5547. Limp parchment. Purchased: Lyon, 1608. 1 livre 10ss.
212. Vegetius Renatus, Flavius. *De Re militari* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius, 1592). 8°. – USTC 423117. – Grenoble BM, Rés. F.6516. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1600, 30ss.
213. Vergilius Maro, Publius. *Opera, cum commentariis* (Basle, Sebastian Henricpetri, 1586). 2°. – USTC 688704. – Grenoble BM, B.891. Limp parchment. Bp: Expilly. Purchased: 1595, 2 livres.
214. Vettori, Pietro. *Epistolarum libri x. orationes XIII. et liber de laudibus Ioannae Austriacae* (Florence, Giunti, 1586). 2°. – USTC 863134. – Grenoble BM, B.2716. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1592, 1 livre 20ss.
215. Vettori, Pietro. *Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII* (Florence, Giunti, 1582). 2°. – USTC 863132. – Grenoble BM, B.1675. Limp parchment. Purchased: 1592, 2 livres... (second part is illegible).
216. *Vigenère, Blaise de. *Traicté du feu et du sel* (Paris, vid. Abel L'Angelier, 1618). 4°. – Balsamo and Simonin p. 421: 576. – Grenoble BM, C.1832. Tanned calf, double fillet gold-tooled. Received: Paris, 1619, gift of madame L'Angelier.
217. Walahfridus Strabus; Xylander, Wilhelm (T); Casaubon, Isaac (E). *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII* ([Geneva], Eustache Vignon, 1587). 2°. – USTC 451125. – Grenoble BM, B.2297. Brown calf, single fillet, gold-tooled louange at centre of boards. Ruled copy. Purchased: 1600, 2 livres 30ss.
218. Wytfliet, Cornelius. *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Augmentum, sive Occidentis Notitia* (Louvain, Gerardus Rivius, 1598). 2°. – USTC 407038. – Grenoble BM, Rés. A.1802. Limp parchment. Hand-coloured. Purchased: Paris, 1598, 4 livres.
219. Wytfliet, Cornelius. *Histoire universelle des Indes orientales et occidentales* (Douai, François Fabry, 1605). 2°. – Grenoble BM, A.2136. Limp parchment. Purchased: Paris, 1606, 40ss.

Undated Books

220. Alciato, Andrea. *Index locupletissimus super commentariis codicis Iustiniani imperatoris* (Lyon, Vincent de Portonariis, 1536). 8°. – USTC 157137. – Grenoble BM, F.11695. Leather, blind-tooled, French. Third hand: previous owners, François Tedis and another, illegible. Purchased: 14ss. [probably bought before marriage]
221. *Art poétique François* (Lyon, par Thibauld Payen, 1556). – USTC 41394. – Grenoble BM, F.2478.
222. Belon, Pierre. *De arboribus coniferis, resiniferis, aliis quoque nonnullis sempiterna fronde virentibus* (Paris, [Benoît Prévost] : Gilles Corrozet, 1553). 4°. – USTC 151232. – Grenoble BM, C.1782. Limp parchment.
223. Durand de Chazelle, Jacques. *Variarum libri duo* (Paris, Thomas Périer, 1582). 8° – Farfouille Librairie, Paris, 2013–2014, no. 1666. – Expilly's signature.
224. Du Tillet, Jean de. *Chronicon de regibus Francorum* (Paris, Michel Vascosan, 1551). 8° – Toronto University Library, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, B-11 07290. Expilly's signature on title page.
225. Petrarca, Francesco. *Il Petrarca* (Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1564). 16°. – USTC 116060. – Grenoble BM, F.116. Purchased: 5ss, second hand (signature on title page: fratris Antonin[is] Germoni ord[inis] praed[icatorum]).⁶⁹

Appendix B: Books Given by Expilly to Others

1. Expilly, Claude. *Playdoyez* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1608). 8°. – Balsamo and Simonin, p. 366 : 465. – Troyes BM, N.14.2761: "Doctissimo et integrimo fr. Pithaeo il. Expillius amicitiae ergo DD 1608" (sent by Expilly to François Pithou).
2. Expilly, Claude. *Les poèmes* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1596). 4°. – USTC 8228; Balsamo and Simonin no. 268 pp. 273–274. – Rennes BM, Rés. 15063. "Jay ce livre en don de monsieur Expilly, auteur d'iceluy, le septiesme julliet 1596 Revol".
3. Expilly, Claude. *Les poèmes* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1596). 4°. – USTC 8228; Balsamo and Simonin no. 268 pp. 273–274. – Bordeaux BM. Sent by the author to Du Haillan.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ I thank Nicole Bingen and Alessandra Preda for clarifications about this item.

⁷⁰ Presumably Bernard de Girard, sieur Du Haillan. See *DBF* XI (1968–1970), pp. 4–5. Born around 1535, went to Italy with his protector Gilles de Noailles. Du Haillan translated the *Facetie* by Lodovico Domenichi and was a secretary to Henri d'Anjou before he became

4. Expilly, Claude. *Les poèmes* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1596). 4°. – USTC 8228; Balsamo and Simonin no. 268 pp. 273–274. – Genève, Fondation Barbier-Mueller. J.-P. Barbier, *Ma bibliothèque poétique*, vol. IV tome 1. Parchment on pasteboards, laurel-wreath motif gold-tooled on plates. Ex-dono of the author on title page. Ms. corrections in the hand of Expilly.
5. Expilly, Claude. *Plaidoyez* (Paris, vid. Abel L'Angelier, 1619). 4°. – Balsamo and Simonin p. 422: 579. – Paris, Bibl. de la Cour de Cassation. Gift from Expilly to F. Bouteroue.
6. Expilly, Claude. *Plaidoyez* (Paris, vid. Abel L'Angelier, 1619). 4°. – Balsamo and Simonin p. 422: 579. – Vente Drouot, December 1998, no. 13: sent by Expilly to Gaspard Froment, 1620.

king. He was given the title of *historiographe du roi* under Charles IX and Henri III. He was also close to Henri IV. He died in Paris in 1610.

Books without Borders: The Presence of the European Printing Press in the Italian Religious Libraries at the End of the Sixteenth Century

Giovanna Granata

The Inquiry of the Congregation of the Index

The censorial campaign carried out by the Roman Church at the end of the sixteenth century makes available to modern scholars a source of extraordinary interest for the history of the book and the history of libraries: the inventories of the books owned by the Italian religious Orders, which were compiled in the short time between 1600 and 1603 under the pressing request of the Congregation of the Index. This source, for a long time collected by the Archive of the Congregation in Rome, was passed to the Vatican Library in 1917 and is now essentially preserved among the Vatican Latin manuscripts in 61 codices.¹ To these a few other materials have recently been added, at present held by different institutions, probably as a consequence of the complex history of the original archive:² two pieces remained in the Archive for the Congregation of the Faith,³ one is in the Archives Nationales

1 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vaticani Latini* (hereafter: VL) 11266–11326.

2 The inventories, collected in the Archive of the Congregation of the Index and gathered in homogeneous volumes, remained in their original repository until the beginning of the eighteenth century when, due to Napoleonic cultural policy, they were moved to Paris, to be included in the collection of the Archive de l'Empire. The volumes returned to the Archive of the Congregation of the Index in April 1817. A century later, when the Congregation of the Index was abolished and its functions passed to the Holy Office, Pope Benedict XV decided to consign them to the Vatican Library. Achille Ratti, the future Pope Pius XI, at that time prefect of the Library, formally received the material on June 13, 1917. On the history of the documentation, see Romeo De Maio, 'I modelli culturali della Controriforma. Le biblioteche dei conventi italiani alla fine del Cinquecento' in Romeo De Maio (ed.), *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Napoli, Guida, 1992), pp. 355–370, and Marc Dykmans, 'Les bibliothèques des religieux d'Italie en l'an 1600', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 24 (1986), pp. 385–404.

3 Vatican City, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, *Index*, Serie XXII, see Gigliola Fragnito, 'L'Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi', in Rosa Marisa Borracchini & Roberto Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice. Atti del Convegno*

in Paris,⁴ and one has been found in the General Archive of the Capuchins in Rome.⁵ This corpus received increased attention from the latter decades of the twentieth century, beginning with the first studies of Romeo de Maio, who in 1973 described it as “the greatest bibliography of the Counter-Reformation”.⁶ In 1985 Lebreton and Fiorani published the inventory of the 61 Vatican codices⁷ and since the turn of the new millennium they have been made the focus of a large research project aiming to make their content available via an integrated database.⁸ The invaluable wealth of information

Internazionale, Macerata 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2006 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), p. 55. Vatican City, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, *Index*, Protocolli, P (11.a.14), ff. 236r-276va, see Ugo Baldini & Leen Spruit (eds.), *Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index*. Vol. 1, *Sixteenth Century Documents* (Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009), pp. 2715–2734.

- 4 Paris, Archives Nationales, LL 1563, ff. 5r–64r, see Rocco Benvenuto, ‘I Minimi nella diocesi di Bisignano alla vigilia della soppressione innocenziana’, *Bollettino ufficiale dell’Ordine dei Minimi*, 48 (2002), pp. 474–538, especially pp. 524–527.
- 5 Rome, Archivio Generale dell’Ordine dei Frati Minori Cappuccini, AB 214, see Costanzo Cargnoni, ‘Libri e biblioteche dei Cappuccini della Provincia di Siracusa alla fine del sec. XVI’, *Collectanea Franciscana*, 77 (2007), pp. 69–151.
- 6 De Maio, ‘I modelli culturali della Controriforma’, p. 363. For a bibliographic review of the first studies on the inventories, updated at the end of the twentieth century, see Roberto Rusconi ‘Le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi in Italia intorno all’anno 1600 attraverso l’Inchiesta della Congregazione dell’Indice’, in Edoardo Barbieri & Danilo Zardin (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nell’Italia del Cinque e Seicento* (Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2002), pp. 63–84.
- 7 Marie-Madeleine Lebreton & Luigi Fiorani, *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 11266–11326. Inventari di biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985).
- 8 The Research on the Inquiry of the Congregation of the Index (RICI), which started in 2001, is coordinated by Roberto Rusconi, with the involvement of many Italian universities and with the support of some cultural institutes and some Religious orders. The first results of the research were presented in an international conference held in Macerata in 2006, see Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*. For an updated bibliography of the studies published in the context of the RICI group, see Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Giovanna Granata & Roberto Rusconi, ‘A proposito dell’inchiesta della S. Congregazione dell’Indice dei libri proibiti di fine ‘500’, *Il capitale culturale*, 6 (2013), pp. 13–45, partic. pp. 39–45. The RICI database *Le biblioteche degli ordini regolari in Italia alla fine del XVI secolo* <<http://http://rici.vatlib.it>> (hereafter referred to as RICI) is still under construction, but is available to researchers. It will contain the complete transcription of the inventories and the bibliographic index of the editions described in each list. On his structure see Giovanna Granata, ‘Struttura e funzionalità della banca dati “Le biblioteche degli Ordini

offered by this body of sources owes its existence to historical circumstances that have now been examined by scholars.⁹ The inventories were requested from the Italian regular Orders by the Congregation of the Index, as a result of the role it had progressively assumed in resolving those controversies and doubts that may have arisen through the application of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. In fact, as has since been reconstructed, the first step of the Congregation's inquiry was concerned only with the books, either prohibited or *expurgandi*, which had been included in the third Roman *Index*, published by Clement VIII in 1596. However, the religious Orders expressed some difficulties in making the lists, from the presence of many 'suspicious' editions, but probably also as a result of some reluctance to obey, sensitive to their own jurisdictional privileges.

In order to put a stop to these forms of resistance, the Congregation decided on drastic change, and peremptorily invited the Orders to send to Rome a complete list of all the books collected in their convents and monasteries, both in the common libraries and in the rooms of individual friars and monks. Moreover, to facilitate this censorial control, the Congregation laid down specific rules for compiling these bibliographic references. Their citation style was, in fact, quite detailed, making it possible to identify a large proportion of the editions described. The books were alphabetically ordered by author, and also provided the title and typographical notes. As a consequence of these choices the far-reaching censorial campaign carried out by the Congregation became an imposing book census, accurate from a bibliographic point of view, and widespread in its coverage.

regolari in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI" in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, pp. 285–305. The print publishing of the inventories is planned in the series *Studi e testi* of the Vatican Library under the subseries title 'Libri e biblioteche degli ordini religiosi in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI' but it will contain only the text of the lists, referring to the database for indexes. A first volume of the series has been recently published: Samuele Megli & Francesco Salvestrini, *Congregazione di Santa Maria di Vallombrosa dell'ordine di San Benedetto*, (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2013).

- 9 The bibliography on this subject is quite extensive, particularly after the opening of the Archives of the Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede; still of fundamental importance are the works of Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura: 1471–1605* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2001), particularly pp. 227–273 and Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); see also Fragnito, 'L'Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi', pp. 37–50. Concerning the complex phases to prepare the *Index* and its application, see Vittorio Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice. La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia, Morcelliana, 2006).

The picture that emerges from this census is impressive. The lists belong to about thirty Orders which together represent the full range of religious experience: with regard to the monastic orders, there are the Carthusians, some hermit congregations (the Hermits of St. Jerome, the Hermits of St. Jerome of Fiesole, the Hermits of the Blessed Peter of Pisa). There are also several families of the Benedictine branch: the Camaldolites, the Camaldolites of Monte Corona, the Vallombrosians, the Cistercians, the Benedictines of Montevergine, the Celestines, the Olivetans and the Benedictines of Cassino. Among the mendicant Orders there are the Franciscans (Conventuals, Observants, Reformed Observants, Capuchins, Third Order), the Augustinians, the Carmelites (of the ancient Observance, Discalced, of the Mantuan Congregation), the Servites, as well as the Brethren of St. Ambrose ad Nemos and St. Barnabas, the Minims and the Cruciferi. Finally, there are the Regular Canons (of the Lateran, of Santo Spirito of Venice, of San Giorgio in Alga, of San Salvatore), the Oratorians and the Clerics Regular, especially the Somascan Fathers, the Barnabites, the Theatines and the Caracciolini. It is clear that there are some pieces missing from the census, and the reasons for this are difficult to explain: in part we can attribute this to the difficult relationship between the Congregation of the Index and the various religious Orders, but it is also not improbable to imagine a simple loss of documentation as the centuries went by.¹⁰

Despite this, the sum of the documentation remains highly significant. From a geographic point of view, the lists covered a myriad of convents and monasteries ranging from north to south, throughout Italy. It is possible to count almost 2,200 religious houses within the census. Some of these were concentrated in

10 The lists of Feuillants, Ministers of the Sick, Sylvestrines, Jesuates, Basilians, and those of the Congregation of Christian Doctrine, all now absent, were probably sent to the Congregation of the Index; on the other hand there is no trace whatsoever of the lists of the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians, see Fragnito, *L'Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi*, pp. 57–58. Of greater concern is the lack of the lists from the Jesuits and the Dominicans: both Orders, as far as it is possible to reconstruct, seem to have been asked for their data by the Congregation of the Index, see Dykmans, *Les bibliothèques des religieux*, pp. 398–399. It should also be supposed that there is a partial incompleteness of data for the thirty-one orders whose lists have been conserved. From a comparison with the available information concerning their presence in Italy, it is evident that several of their monasteries and convents are lacking and that entire areas remain in the shadows. Dykmans, *Les bibliothèques des religieux*, p. 398 calculates for example that data on at least a hundred and fifty Servite convents are missing, since only eighty out of a total of about two hundred and thirty sent their lists. The recent discoveries of some lists not included in the Vatican Latin corpus encourage the hope that more material could still be found.

the great urban and cultural centres of early modern Italy. This allows us to reconstruct the local library network of the major Italian towns of Milan, Pavia, Venice, Padua, Mantua, Bologna, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples and Palermo where many religious Orders were present with old and important settlements.¹¹ The census also covered the remote and peripheral areas as well as the smallest villages located at the furthest tip of the peninsula.

Moreover, the inventories described a great many distinct libraries for each convent and monastery, each with a different functional nature. It has been estimated that there are at least 9,500 lists within the census, which describe the common libraries, available to all, specialised collections for the needs of infirmaries, choruses and refectories, groups of prohibited or suspected books which had been taken out of circulation, as well as those books in private use by the single friars and monks. While in the case of common libraries a retrospective and conservational feature is clearly apparent, as they mostly gathered books inherited from the past, books in use by individual friars and monks met the current needs of their owners, were accordingly diverse in their number and contents, and generally reflected the personal commitment of their owners to their specific pastoral activities.

Finally, it is important to note the extraordinary number of books collected in the Italian religious houses. Some estimates, based on a first sample analysis of the documentation, offer figures between 800,000 and 1,000,000 volumes. A more probable figure, which is based upon the medium number of items per list, is between 500,000 and 600,000, which remains, nonetheless, a very impressive number.¹² In most parts they were printed volumes, attesting to, a century and a half after Guttenberg's invention, the great diffusion of the new medium and the almost complete transition from the manuscript era.¹³

11 In the case of Milan, for example, the convents surveyed are 28 in number, in Pavia they are 21, 26 are in Venice, 21 in Padua, 22 in Mantua, 26 in Bologna; 23 in Genoa, 25 in Florence, 33 in Rome, 27 in Naples, and 13 in Palermo.

12 The higher estimate was first stated in Lebreton & Fiorani, *Codices 1266–1326*, p. XI, and it is usually referred to by the principal surveys on the documentation, see for example Rusconi, 'Le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi in Italia', p. 65; the lower estimate takes into account the analytical results of the sample processed at present in the RIC database.

13 It should be observed, in fact, that in the religious houses there are comparatively fewer manuscript materials, primarily collected in the common libraries by the Orders with a longer tradition. On this subject see Roberto Rusconi, '«O scritti a mano»: i libri manoscritti tra inquisizione e descrizione', in Rosa Marisa Borraccini (ed.), *Dalla notitia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari: saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani latini 1266–1326* (Macerata, Edizioni Università di Macerata, 2009), pp. 1–26.

The Books of the Italian Religious Orders through the Inquiry of the Congregation of the Index

The bibliographic interest of this census does not derive only from its extensive coverage, but also from the impressive fullness and reliability of its data. In fact, after their initial hesitation, the religious Orders seem to have fulfilled the final and urgent request of the Congregation of the Index with a good level of accuracy. The standard of cataloguing required by the census was generally applied in the lists with diligence. In many cases the compilers described the efforts made to arrange their inventories or their attempts to visit the rooms in order to inspect the bibliographic material. No attempt to hide prohibited books is recognizable in the lists: a cross beside the items indicated condemned or even suspected volumes; doubts or uncertainty about their compatibility with the Index were sometimes expressed in form of questions and, where they existed, special permissions were explicitly declared.¹⁴ Compliance seems to have been more common than evasiveness.

Among the hundreds of thousands of bibliographic citations there were, of course, many errors and misunderstandings due to the haste with which the census was conducted by the friars, or to their lack of familiarity with certain subjects or certain authors, or even due to some difficulty in decoding bibliographic data.¹⁵ There are also cases of gaps of varying severity in the citational grid: sometimes the inventories refer to books which had been damaged or were devoid of specific information, such as the name of the printer, or the date and place of printing. However, for a large number of items it is possible to perform a bibliographic identification: from a sample of about 200,000 references which have been analysed so far by the RICI group, the percentage of success is 70%, while only the remaining 30% is without any validation. Of these items, almost 60,000 in the sample, a portion is gravely incomplete, and a portion certainly hides a considerable number of bibliographic ghosts. However, it is also probable

14 The cases of some lists with forbidden books have been discussed by Flavia Bruni, 'Una «inquisitio» nel convento servita di Lucca: i libri nella cella di fra' Lorenzo'; Lorenzo Di Lenardo, 'I libri proibiti dei Francescani Conventuali del Triveneto'; Adelisa Malena, 'Libri "proibiti", "sospesi", "dubii d'esser cattivi": in margine ad alcune liste dei Canonici regolari lateranensi', in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, respectively pp. 473–523, 525–554, 555–580. A systematic use of the marginal notes to indicate the presence of prohibited or 'suspect' books is also reported by Rosella Laudadio, 'La provincia dei frati Minori dell'Osservanza di Trinacria e i suoi libri alla fine del Cinquecento', *Franciscana*, 7 (2005), pp. 209–299.

15 Some examples in Roberto Rusconi, 'I libri dei religiosi nell'Italia di fine '500', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 72 (2004), pp. 19–40.

that some of them can help to find the traces of lost books, and can also provide a considerable improvement in our knowledge of the ancient book production.¹⁶ On the other hand, the 140,000 volumes whose bibliographic data have been successfully checked correspond to many known editions, which makes it possible to not only register their presence, but also to study their diffusion through the marketplace of the Italian religious libraries in great detail. The number of these editions (about 27, 000) is by now quite stable, after the initial massive effort made in beginning the research; even though that figure is expected to grow upon the completion of the RIC1 project, it can be used as the basis for a reliable analysis of the documentation, either in its quantitative aspects or in its qualitative features.

This corpus of editions is the key to assessing the cultural paradigm to which the Italian religious Orders belonged at the end of the sixteenth century, and reveals how much of the (known) book production of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries expresses this cultural paradigm. The extent of this corpus also allows us to consider in depth the quantitative distribution of copies for each edition, and so affords invaluable information about the actual circulation of books and about their impact on a particular circle of readers. More important still, this information is not reconstructed on the basis of a backwards projection of the available data, but on its real chronological range, from 1600 through to 1603. To sum up, what actually emerges from this documentation is a magnificent fresco of a phenomenon that would be unfathomable in its real quantitative value without the modern tools of bibliographic census: namely the circulation of books.

16 The potential of the documentation as a source for studies on 'lost books' has already been pointed out by De Maio, 'I modelli culturali della Controriforma', p. 364. Following his suggestion Gianvito Resta, 'La stampa in Sicilia nel Cinquecento', in Marco Santoro (ed.), *La stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento* (Rome, Bulzoni, 1992) pp. 777–841, and Giuseppina Zappella, 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto: supplemento "virtuale" agli annali della tipografia napoletana del Cinquecento' in Vincenzo De Gregorio (ed.), *Bibliologia e critica dantesca. Saggi dedicati a Enzo Esposito. 1: Saggi bibliologici* (Ravenna, Longo, 1997) pp. 243–293 worked respectively in the Sicilian and Neapolitan areas. More recently, taking advantage of the RIC1 database, the documentation has been investigated by Ugo Rozzo, 'Una fonte integrativa di ISTC: l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice del 1597–1603' in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, pp. 215–250 and, with methodological proposals, by Giovanna Granata, 'Le biblioteche dei religiosi in Italia alla fine del '500 attraverso l'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice. A proposito di libri scomparsi: il caso dei francescani osservanti di Sicilia' in Maria Grazia Del Fuoco (ed.), *Ubi neque aerugo neque tinea demolitur. Studi offerti in onore di Luigi Pellegrini per i suoi settant'anni* (Naples, Liguori, 2006) pp. 329–406.

Bibliographic Analysis of Data: Places of Printing

Some general features of this fresco make it easy to assess how important the library network of the Italian religious Orders must have been as a marketplace for fifteenth and sixteenth century book producers. In fact, the sample of the analysed editions covers the entire period between the earliest years of the printing press era and the time of the Clementine Index, with a trend of growth in the number of editions per year. The oldest incunabula, owned by the monastery of San Giovanni di Verdara in Padua, is a copy of the *Constitutiones Clementinae*, printed in Mainz by Fust and Schoeffer in 1460,¹⁷ while the most recent books fall just beyond the end of the sixteenth century, with works from 1601 and even as late as 1602.¹⁸ The geographical extent of the sample is no less broad than its chronological span. A more detailed analysis of the editions by place of printing attests to the interest of the Italian religious Orders in certain areas of European book production, without any exclusive or even prominent preference for local or Italian producers.

In fact, a geographical projection of the editions within the sample reveals that they were brought from a very wide ambit. They came from some 200 towns; about half of these were in Italy, while the other half covered a large area from Portugal to Eastern Europe. The different regions were not represented equally, which reflected the varied geographic distribution of the places where printing was taking place in the first modern age and their widely different levels in terms of productivity.

As Table 10.1 shows, apart from Italy, the European centres were mainly concentrated in Germany which was represented by almost 27 towns; Spain, France and Switzerland followed with respectively 19, 15 and 7 centres; then came the Low Countries with four places of printing in the south and three in the north; there were two centres for Portugal, Austria and Poland, and just

17 RIC1 TIT 123038, see *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc>> (hereafter: ISTC) ic00710000.

18 The books dated 1601 and 1602 number about one hundred and they are mostly collected in the Augustinian inventories of VL 11310, probably the last to be compiled in 1603, as is possible to argue from the subscription of some of them, see for example VL 11310, f. 6r–11v: “Nota di tutti i libri dello studio di maestro Niccola da Massa dell’Ordine Eremitano di santo Agostino, cavata questo anno 1603”, where it is possible to find (f. 9r) the ‘Commentaria Seripandi super epistolas divi Pauli. Neapoli, per Ioannem Iacobum Carlinum, 1601’ (RIC1 TIT 219598). Other books are in few Capuchin lists, from Tuscany (VL 11322), Naples (VL 11325) and Palermo (VL 11306).

TABLE 10.1 *Foreign places of printing*

Germany	Spain	France	Swiss	Low Countries
Augsburg	Alcalá de Henares	Agen	Basel	Amsterdam
Dillingen	Antequera	Angers	Bern	Antwerp
Esslingen	Baeza	Avignon	Fribourg	Bruges
Frankfurt am Main	Barcelona	Bordeaux	Geneva	Leiden
Freiburg im Breisgau	Burgos	Douai	Lucerne	Leuven
Hagenau	Granada	Limoges	Ticino	Ursel
Heidelberg	Huesca	Lyon	Zürich	Utrecht
Helmstedt	Madrid	Paris		
Ingolstadt	Medina del Campo	Pont-à-Mousson		
Cologne	Pamplona	Rouen		
Constance	Salamanca	Saint Nicholas de Port		
Leipzig	Segovia	Toulouse		
Mainz	Seville	Tournon		
Marburg	Tarragona	Verdun		
Memmingen	Toledo			
Nuremberg	Valencia			
Oppenheim	Valladolid	Portugal	Austria	Poland
Pforzheim	Zamora			
Reutlingen	Zaragoza	Coimbra	Schratuntal	Kraków
Solingen		Lisbon	Wien	Poznan
Speyer				
Trier				
Tübingen		England	Lithuania	Bohemia
Ulm				
Wittenberg		London	Vilnius	Praha
Würzburg				

one, finally, for England, Lithuania, and Bohemia, respectively London, Vilnius and Prague.¹⁹

19 A comparison with the actual geographic horizon of the printing press world in sixteenth century can be made using the table produced by Andrew Pettegree & Matthew Hall, 'The Reformation and the book. A Reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), pp. 785–808,

If this geographical framework is considered by looking at the number of editions by place of printing, it is possible to obtain some more information (Table 10.2). In general, the numerical ratio between Italian and foreign editions does not really change, obviously excluding the case of Venice which represents a singular phenomenon. Venetian editions were about one half of the total (about 46%), while the remainder was substantially divided between the other Italian editions (25%) and the editions coming from the rest of Europe (29%).²⁰ This analysis makes it possible to observe the major importance of certain places of printing, making the geographical horizon from which the Italian religious libraries acquired their books dramatically less wide. It basically reflects the partition of the book world up to 1601 into a 'core zone' which included France, Italy, Germany, the Swiss Confederation, and the Low Countries, where the production was concentrated in a few strategic centres, and some other 'peripheral regions'.²¹

The internal proportion of the core zone is given in Table 10.2 column A, which shows the places of printing with at least 100 editions. After Venice,

now in Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European Book* (Leiden, Brill, 2007), pp. 221–249, particularly p. 248. The table gives the number of printing centres by country which emerged from the analysis of 10,000 consecutive items of the *Index Aureliensis*. Indeed, the RIC1 database also includes incunabula, but among the listed centres only Esslingen is limited to the early printing period so it is possible to juxtapose their results with those of the sixteenth century. The table made from the *Index Aureliensis* confirms the top position for Germany with 92 centres followed, apart from Italy, by France and the Low Countries, with respectively 53 and 27 centres; Spain comes fourth with 20 centres. The most interesting element is that in the RIC1 database almost all the Spanish centres are represented, thus making Spain the second country on the list, while the geographic coverage concerning Germany France and Low Countries is just about 30%.

20 It might be interesting to compare these numbers with the final data now available from the studies on early modern book production: in particular, it is apparent that the weight of Venice with regard to the Italian production of the sixteenth century is consistently higher: almost 65% of the Italian production in the RIC1 sample comes from Venice, vs. 42% as it is generally calculated on the basis of *Edit 16. Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* <<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>> (hereafter: EDIT16). This value is due to the statistical distribution of the sample: in fact the Venetian editions in the Italian religious libraries are 42% of the total Venetian production, as surveyed in EDIT16, while the other Italian centres are present with just the 16% of their known production. Concerning the incunabula, on the basis of the ISTC data it results that the Venetian early books in RIC1 are 36% of the total Venetian production of the sixteenth century and correspond to 60% of the Italian incunabula of the RIC1 sample.

21 See Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), pp 101–128, particularly p. 127.

TABLE 10.2 *Number of editions by place of printing*

A – Editions			B – Copies			C – Copies per Edition	
Place of printing	Number	%	Place of printing	Number	%	Place of printing	Number
Venice	12,496	45.8	Venice	86,730	62.6	Venice	6.9
Lyon	2,638	9.7	Lyon	10,391	7.5	Brescia	5.7
Paris	2,141	7.8	Rome	6,500	4.7	Naples	5
Rome	1,378	5.0	Paris	5,589	4	Rome	4.7
Florence	920	3.4	Florence	3,349	2.4	Pavia	4.6
Basel	761	2.8	Brescia	2,705	2	Bologna	4.4
Cologne	725	2.7	Naples	2,532	1.8	Lyon	3.9
Milan	630	2.3	Cologne	2,283	1.6	Turin	3.9
Antwerp	542	2.0	Bologna	2,205	1.6	Florence	3.6
Napoli	502	1.8	Milano	1,828	1.3	Ferrara	3.6
Bologna	500	1.8	Basel	1,791	1.3	Verona	3.6
Brescia	470	1.7	Antwerp	1,467	1.1	Padua	3.2
Pavia	242	0.9	Pavia	1,104	0.8	Cologne	3.1
Padua	231	0.8	Padua	738	0.5	Milano	2.9
Ferrara	181	0.7	Ferrara	648	0.5	Antwerp	2.7
Turin	152	0.6	Turin	597	0.4	Paris	2.6
Verona	131	0.5	Verona	475	0.3	Basel	2.3
Salamanca	109	0.4	Leuven	243	0.2	Leuven	2.2
Leuven	109	0.4	Salamanca	196	0.1	Salamanca	1.8
Others	2,454	9.0	Others	7,175	5.2	Others	2.9

Lyon and Paris clearly emerge in a leading position, ahead of Rome and Florence. They consist of 17.5% of the total number of editions owned by the Italian religious libraries, a percentage that almost equals the weight of the most significant Italian centres, apart from Venice.²² The presence of Germany

²² The Italian centres (other than Venice) which appear in the list account for 19%. To give some comparative data with respect to the Venetian editions examined in note 20, the sixteenth-century editions from Lyon in the Italian religious libraries correspond to 16% of the total known production from this centre (excluding the vernacular books), as recorded in the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>> (hereafter: *USTC*), while in the case of Paris the *RICI* database contains 9% of the total non-vernacular books.

is reduced to just one place of printing, unsurprisingly the Catholic Cologne; Basel is the only centre representing Switzerland, while for the Low Countries only Antwerp appears in the list. They all represent between 2% and 3% of the total editions, approaching the values of Florence and Milan. Some other major Italian towns follow next: Naples, Brescia and Bologna with between 1 and 2%.²³ The other places of printing are of lesser weight: for some of them, Salamanca and Leuven for example, it is possible to count from 100 to 200 editions; all the others number less than 100 editions.

The trend in the number of copies per place of printing partly modifies these quantitative relationships (Table 10.2, column B). In this case, Lyon maintains its position after Venice, while Paris comes after Rome, and also Cologne, Basel and Antwerp invert their positions with respect to Florence, Brescia and Naples. In fact, looking at the columns giving the weight of each centre in percentages (rather than in terms of absolute numbers) it is clear that, apart from Rome and Venice (which confirms its status as an exceptional case), a more or less significant decrease can be observed for all the other places of major importance. For example, the editions from Lyon are about 10% of the total, but the relative copies are just 7.5% of the total, and the book production of Paris accounts for 7.8% in Table 10.2 column A, while in column B it falls to 4%. More generally, the relationship between the two measures tends to be biased towards the number of editions: in other words, the impact of each centre is stronger for the variety of its book production rather than for the quantity.

This seems in line with some practices of the book trade, particularly with regard to its distribution system. It is known from studies on the circulation of books that, mostly in order to prevent the accumulation of unsold stock, bookshops preferred to offer a few copies of a rich selection of editions, giving their customers a very wide range of choice.²⁴ To some extent, it is possible that the gap between the two columns in Table 10.2 (the percentage of the editions and the percentage of the copies) could be related to common conditions and strategies of sale, that is, it reflects a developed

23 It should be noted that Naples is the only Southern city in the list which mostly includes towns located in the north or in the centre; this is not surprising as, following Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', p. 106, the south of Italy should be considered among the 'peripheral markets'.

24 This tendency, which reflects normal retail trends, clearly emerges from the analysis of shop inventories of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in fact, although they can be very different from each other, these lists generally testify to the availability of a varied assortment of editions, more than a high number of copies; see on this subject Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), particularly pp. 347–387.

commercial system which was able to support the production, rather than revealing a weakness in productivity.

Unsurprisingly, the foreign printing centres seem to be particularly affected by this problem. As is apparent from Table 10.2 column C, in terms of the number of copies per edition, they generally move to the bottom of the table, reversing their position with that of some Italian centres. The latter, of minor weight in absolute terms with regard to the number of editions (Table 10.2 column A), were quite significant in terms of quantitative impact, and clearly appear to be better characterised as local markets. Thus it is possible to find Cologne, Antwerp, Paris and Basel at the end of Table 10.2 column C after Ferrara, Verona and Padua, while Lyon is preceded by Pavia and Bologna. As noted above, a different behaviour can be observed in the case of Venice and Rome: at the beginning of Table 10.2 columns A and C, they both perform strongly with regard both to the number of editions and the number of copies.

Bibliographic Analysis of Data: Dates of Printing

The analysis of the number of editions per year provides some further information. The three curves shown by Figure 10.1 concern the different behaviour of the foreign and Italian production centres, both of which are distinct from the Venetian data, due to their very different quantities. In general, the curves depict a very complex scenario which shows the marketplace of the Italian religious libraries as a system where different factors interact, with cumulative effects.

Looking at the most prominent European places of printing, it is possible to appreciate a significant growth in the number of editions per year during the first half of the sixteenth century, while the second half is characterized by decreasing values.²⁵ Indeed, concerning the Italian and Venetian results, the general graph in Figure 10.1 shows an almost complete reversal in the trend. Even though the absolute numbers for Venice are much higher, in both cases it

25 The trend here is generalised, even though in a more analytical approach it is possible to observe that it begins at different dates and comes as more or less gradual depending on the places. In the case of Catholic Cologne, for example, the decrease starts very early, about 1540, but its course is quite gradual until 1580. In the case of Antwerp, the activity of Plantin makes the curve particularly high in the decade 1555–1565 before the beginning of a rapid decline. Between Cologne and Antwerp there are Basel, Paris and Lyon, the decline of which starts respectively in 1545, 1550, 1560.

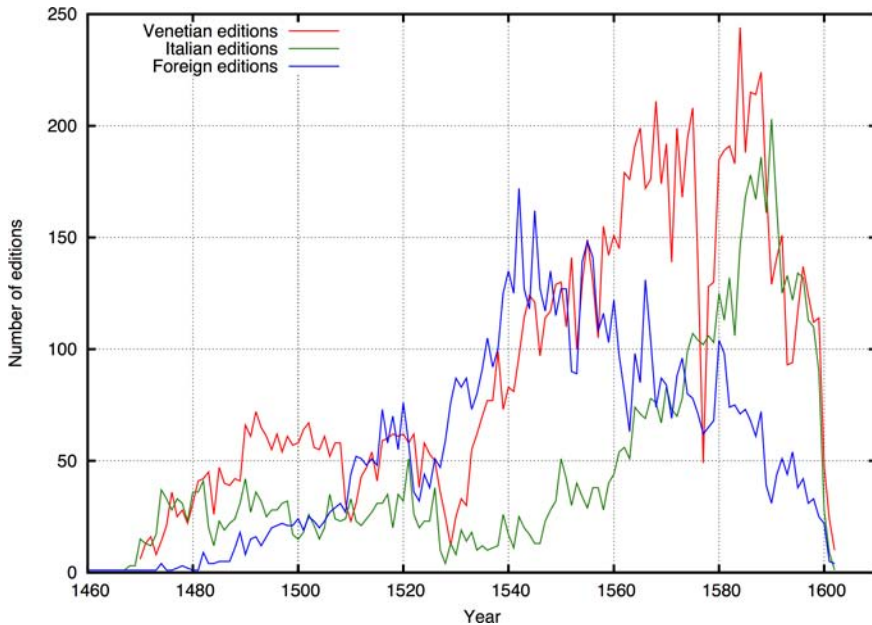


FIGURE 10.1 *Number of editions by date of printing*

is possible to observe a significant growth in the number of editions per year in the second half of the century, while, during the first half, the figure is lower. It is difficult not to interpret the curves of the graph as being closely related, since the change in the ascending pattern looks symmetrical. More precisely, during the first decades of the century, the curve of the European centres exceeds that of the Italian editions in the year 1500, reaches Venice around 1510, and is able to maintain significantly higher values from about 1525 until the second half of the century, after which there is a consistent fall.

In 1540 the turbulent growth of Venice becomes visible, crossing the downward trend of the European centres ten years later, in 1550, while the turn-around between the other Italian editions and the foreign ones took place even later, before 1570. To some extent, the behaviour of the sample is consistent with known phenomena, and follows from changes that occurred in book production around the midpoint of the century: in these years all the most prominent European printing centres consolidated after the first incunabula era, and weathered a period of crisis afflicted by religious or political troubles.²⁶ In Italy and particularly in Venice, however, the period was characterized by a huge

26 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010).

rise in production, as publishers rapidly adjusted to the new cultural and spiritual needs inspired by the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Unsurprisingly, the global data of the Venetian printing presses are almost the same as those registered by the sample, which reveals a rapid increase from about 1540.²⁷ Moreover, it should be noted that the results from studies on the French production of Latin books after 1560 also produce a curve with a trend which is very close to that observed for the foreign centres in the sample.²⁸ However, it would be incorrect to interpret the data of the sample while treating the number of editions as an absolute value, independent of the behaviour of the market. If one were to do so it would be easy to conclude from Figure 10.1 that the Venetian printing press, after a great struggle with the European centres (particularly from 1510 to 1550) stifled any competition in the second part of the century, and saturated consumer demand with its enormous output, taking full advantage of the European crisis. The other Italian centres appear to have followed suit a few years later.

This is not exactly the case. If one takes into account not only the volume of production, but also its effective impact on the Italian religious libraries, it is possible to arrive at some different conclusions.

In Figure 10.2 the number of the foreign, Italian and Venetian editions is compared after having been normalised with respect to the total number of editions per year. This makes it possible to neutralise the variable represented by the expansion of the market over time. In fact, it is obvious that during these decades, not only does the number of published editions rise incrementally, but so too does the number of readers and their capacity to buy books. Thus, at least in part, the increasing numbers visible in the second part of the sixteenth century depend on a natural enlargement of the book world and of book circulation, the effects of which should be subtracted in order to evaluate the true extent of the similarity of the different production centres.

27 See the graph obtained by a projection of EDIT 16 data in Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, p. 49 which is very close to the graph of Figure 10.1. In fact all the peaks and the gaps represented in the global graph are also in the sample, even if obviously the relative quantities per year are different. This is not really surprising due to the high representativeness of the sample, see note 20.

28 See in particular the graph published by Andrew Pettegree & Malcolm Walsby, *French books III & IV. Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French* (Leiden, Brill, 2011), p. xvii which summarises the data of French printing in Latin showing a clear decrease of the production after 1560; thanks to the important data of Lyon and Paris both in the Pettegree & Walsby survey and in the RIC1 database, it is possible to compare the two curves, which appear very close.

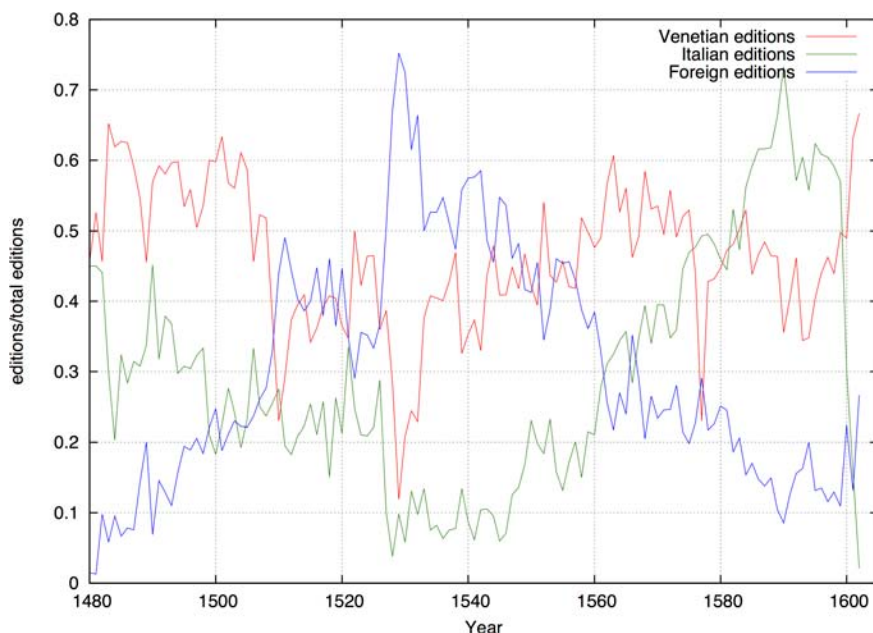


FIGURE 10.2 *Number of editions by date of printing (normalized)*

Indeed, if the ratio of the Venetian editions per year with respect to the total number of editions is considered, it is apparent that the fraction of the market belonging to Venetian publishers is almost constant throughout the entire sixteenth century, never exceeding 50 or 60% of the total, with some local fluctuations and a more sustained fall between 1520 and 1540 alone.

However, an uneven distribution can be discerned in the fraction of the market not occupied by Venice and divided between Italian and foreign publishers whose curves are closely symmetrical. It appears that the latter, which is clearly more important in the first half of the century, and was able to seize a solid position between the years 1510–1560, was progressively replaced by the Italian printers towards 1600. In other words, the growth of the Venetian editions appears proportional to the growth of the market, without any significant change in relative terms between the first and the second part of the century, as the presence of books from Venetian printers in the lists was steady and regular. However, to some extent, this strong and sustained position also left room open for other production centres, which alternated over the course of the century, in compensating for the temporary gaps in the production of Venice.²⁹

29 The foreign editions curve clearly supplies the Venetian gaps around 1530, while at the end of the century the Venetian shortfall is covered by the other Italian printing centres.

Before the middle of the century, northern European exports had been strongly competitive and contributed, together with the Venetian output, in supplying books to Italian religious libraries. In the second half of the century, however, the other Italian centres added their efforts to those of the Venetian printing presses, while increasingly the foreign printers were excluded from the Italian market, a phenomenon which became clear in the twenty years from 1560 to 1580, and became still more significant in the last two decades of the century. It has to be noted that, as might be expected from the analysis of Table 10.2, the rise in Italian production in the second half of the century was mostly due to Rome. Almost 70% of Roman production recorded in the Italian religious libraries had been published after 1560, and it corresponds to almost one quarter of the total Italian editions, other than Venice.

Bibliographic Analysis of Data: Printers

Within this general framework it is possible to analyse the data concerning the most prominent foreign printers. The distribution of their editions is given in Table 10.3. Due to the considerations discussed above, it is unsurprising that in the top positions we find some of the great luminaries of the mid-century printing world. Among them, the different cases of Sébastien Gryphe and Jean Petit, Jacques Myt and Jean Clein and finally Jacques (Iacopo) Giunta will be analysed here.

The presence of the Lyon printer Sébastien Gryphe in the Italian religious libraries is mostly due to his classical and humanistic output, which was also the core of his cultural engagement.³⁰ While the number of his editions is very high (Table 10.3 column A), Gryphe is not equally important in terms of the number of respective copies (Table 10.3 column C). His editions were not 'best-sellers', apart from a single striking exception: the *Concordantiae maiores sacrae Bibliae*, his most popular book among Italian religious Orders. In fact, it is possible to count 133 copies of the *Concordantiae* which include all the five different editions of the work that was produced by Gryphe, with an average of

30 Henri Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondateurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI siècle* (Lyon, Brun, 1895–1921). Tome VIII, pp. 11–286; Ugo Rozzo, 'La cultura italiana nelle edizioni lionesi di Sébastien Gryphe', in *Du Pô à la Garonne. Recherches sur les échanges culturels entre l'Italie et la France à la Renaissance* (Agen, Centre Matteo Bandello, 1990), pp. 13–46; Raphaële Mouren (ed.), *Quid novi? Sébastien Gryphe à l'occasion du 450e anniversaire de sa mort* (Lyon, Presse de l'ENSSIB, 2008).

TABLE 10.3 *Number of editions by printer*

A – Editions		B – Copies		C – Copies/Editions	
364	Gryphe, Sébastien	1448	Rouillé, Guillaume	6.8	Giunta, Jacques
293	Rouillé, Guillaume	1039	Gryphe, Sébastien	5.8	Myt, Jacques
185	Petit, Jean	710	Giunta, Jacques	5.4	Honorat, Sébastien
156	Plantin, Christophe	465	Petit, Jean	4.9	Rouillé, Guillaume
115	Petit, Oudin	440	Plantin, Christophe	4.9	Giunta, Jacques - heir
105	Giunta, Jacques	354	Giunta, Jacques - heir	4.5	Clein, Jean
102	Roigny, Jean	342	Petit, Oudin	3.9	Koberger, Anton
97	Steelsius, Johannes	275	Steelsius, Johannes	3.8	Giunta, Jacques - heirs
94	Payen, Thibaud	260	Roigny, Jean	3.6	Regnault, François
91	Petri, Heinrich	258	Cholinus, Maternus	3.5	Nivelle, Sébastien
88	Gryphe, Antoine	258	Payen, Thibaud	3.5	Sonnus, Michel 1.
87	Neuss, Melchior	255	Quentel, Peter	3.5	Foucher, Jean
78	Cholinus, Maternus	254	Neuss, Melchior	3.5	Quentel, Peter
76	Froben, Hieronymus & Episcopus, Nicolaus 1.	239	Clein, Jean	3.3	Cholinus, Maternus
72	Vincent, Antoine	234	Petri, Heinrich	3.3	Birckmann, Arnold 1. - heirs
72	Giunta, Jacques - heir	232	Nivelle, Sébastien	3.1	Bade, Josse
72	Quentel, Peter	222	Giunta, Jacques - eredi	3.0	Petit, Oudin
67	Nivelle, Sébastien	221	Foucher, Jean	2.9	Gryphe, Sébastien
63	Foucher, Jean	210	Froben, Hieronymus & Episcopus, Nicolaus 1.	2.9	Neuss, Melchior
58	Giunta, Jacques - heirs	197	Vincent, Antoine	2.8	Steelsius, Johannes
56	Sonnus, Michel 1.	195	Sonnus, Michel 1.	2.8	Plantin, Christophe
54	Birckmann, Arnold 1. - heirs	193	Myt, Jacques	2.8	Froben, Hieronymus & Episcopus, Nicolaus 1.
54	Oporinus, Johann	191	Regnault, François	2.7	Vincent, Antoine
53	Regnault, François	189	Honorat, Sébastien	2.7	Payen, Thibaud
53	Clein, Jean	189	Koberger, Anton	2.6	Petri, Heinrich
51	Bade, Josse	183	Gryphe, Antoine	2.5	Petit, Jean
49	Koberger, Anton	180	Birckmann, Arnold 1. - heirs	2.5	Roigny, Jean
35	Honorat, Sébastien	156	Bade, Josse	2.1	Gryphe, Antoine
33	Myt, Jacques	73	Oporinus, Johann	1.4	Oporinus, Johann

about 27 copies per edition, compared to the mean of about three copies per edition calculated for the rest of his publications (Table 10.3 column C).³¹ This is not only a consequence of the specific subject of the book, which was of clear interest to the religious Orders, but it is also due to a new market space being open. It is striking that just one sixteenth-century Venetian edition of the *Concordantiae* is known: the one published “Al segno della Speranza” in 1549; all the others are foreign.³²

A slightly different situation can be observed in the case of the Parisian bookseller and printer Jean Petit.³³ The part of his output that was owned by the Italian religious libraries is mostly focused upon religious, philosophical and legal subjects, with particular attention to certain French authors, such as the Dominican preacher Guillaume Pepin.³⁴ There is no Petit edition which enjoyed any particular popularity; for him the mean number of copies per edition is 2.5 (Table 10.3 column C), rather his strength lay, as was the case with Gryphe, in the number of editions. The many works of Guillaume Pepin are, for example, represented by almost 20 editions that make up a significant part of the total number of the editions of the same author owned by the religious libraries (about 70) – yet none of these is especially remarkable in terms of the number of copies. It should be noted that supplying Pepin’s works to the Italian religious Orders might have afforded Petit as great a success as the *Concordantiae maiores Bibliae*, but he did not really exploit the opportunity, which would have meant increasing his share of the market. In fact the known Pepin editions from the first part of the sixteenth century are mostly from Paris;³⁵ the Venetian inroads into this field only began in 1569 with the *Expositio evangeliorum quadragesimalium* printed by Grazioso

31 The known editions of the *Concordantiae maiores Bibliae* published by Gryphe, all owned by the Italian religious libraries, are dated 1529 (RICI BIB 911, see USTC 146018), 1535 (RICI BIB 1567, see USTC 146847), 1540 (RICI BIB 12994, see USTC 147741), 1545 (RICI BIB 2532, see USTC 149320) and 1551 (RICI BIB 4373, see USTC 150778).

32 The edition RICI BIB 1266 (see USTC 80329) was also very popular among the religious libraries, as is clear from the figure of almost 80 copies.

33 Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie a Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle*, (Paris, A. Claudin, 1898), pp. 291–293.

34 On Guillaume Pepin (c. 1465–1533) see Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992).

35 The distribution, as surveyed by USTC, attests to 109 editions from Paris all published between 1501 and 1545, with 33 produced by Jean Petit.

Percaccino, and dominated the market for the remaining decades of the sixteenth century.³⁶

In the case of the Lyon printer Jacques Myt, however, one finds quite a small corpus of editions (Table 10.3 column A), some of which represented a moderate success among the Italian religious Orders.³⁷ The most popular is the mystical treatise *Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum*, by the Italian theologian Bartolomeo Sibilla,³⁸ printed by Myt in 1521 of which we encounter 34 copies.³⁹ It is also noteworthy that the only Italian edition of Sibilla during the sixteenth century was printed in the mid 1570s by Bertano, so this success was facilitated by an almost forced choice: the Sibilla editions had to be imported for a large part of the century.⁴⁰

The case of Jean Clein, also from Lyon, is similar:⁴¹ the Italian religious libraries owned a fair number of copies of his editions of the *Mariale* and *Rosarium* by Bernardino Busti,⁴² both of which had been printed in Italy in the incunabula era,⁴³ but then almost forgotten in the first decades of the sixteenth

36 After those of Grazioso Percacino (1569, 1570, 1578), Giovanni Antonio Farri (1570, 1572) and Giovanni Battista Somasco (1573), the editions are mainly from Giovanni Antonio Bertano (1587, 1588, 1589, 1591, 1592, 1594).

37 226 editions are known for Jacques Myt, with around 70 bearing his name alone, since he had mainly a role of printer, especially for Vincent de Portonariis. See Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, v, s.v. Vincent de Portonariis; vi, s.v. Jacques Giunta; vii, s.v. Scipion de Gabiano; xi, s.v. Constantin Fradin. In the RICI database, the total number of editions printed by Myt is about 60.

38 Bartolomeo Sibilla, who belonged to the Order of Preachers, was born in Monopoli (Bari) and died in 1493.

39 The edition is declared as having been printed “in edibus Iacobi Myt” with no other information (RICI BIB 3573, see USTC 145468); to this can be added two other editions: the first printed “in edibus Iacobi Myt, sumptu ... Constantini Fradin” in 1516 (RICI BIB 3723, see USTC 144651); the second printed “in edibus. Iacobi Myt, sumptu... Scipionis de Gabiano” in 1534 (RICI BIB 2585, see USTC 146810) with respectively 13 and 42 copies.

40 There is indeed also an incunable edition, printed in Rome by Eucharius Silber in 1493, after which the first Italian editions arrived from Bertano in 1575 (EDIT16 CNCE 32865) which was owned by Italian religious libraries in almost 60 copies (RICI BIB 478).

41 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, xii, p. 264.

42 The editions of *Mariale* by Clein are three for thirty copies in total: 1502 (RICI BIB 4499, see USTC 142820), 1511 (RICI 3484, see USTC 143829), 1515 (RICI 3790, see USTC 155269). The editions of *Rosarium* are four for forty-one copies: 1502 (RICI BIB 14327, see USTC 158745); 1506–7 (BIB 1485, see USTC 154979, 155004), 1511 (RICI BIB 59910, see USTC 158774), 1513 (RICI BIB 19867, see USTC 144195).

43 There are two Italian incunable editions of the *Mariale* and one of the *Rosarium*, respectively printed in Milan by Uldericus Scinzenzeler in 1492 and by Leonardus Pachel in 1493 (ISTC ib01332500, ib01333000), in Venice by Giorgio Arrivabene in 1498 (ISTC ib01336000).

century, until the Marchetti edition in 1588.⁴⁴ Significantly, while no Italian printer seemed interested in producing the works of Busti, Clein found a competitor, or more probably a successor, also in Lyon. In fact in 1525, ten years after the last of the editions by Clein, both *Mariale* and *Rosarium* were printed by Antoine du Ry “impensis Jacques Giunta”, and were successful among the Italian religious libraries which owned almost 40 copies of the former and 30 copies of the latter.

Concerning Jacques Giunta, one sees both a large range in terms of the number of editions and also a high distribution in terms of the number of copies (Table 10.3 columns A and C). An examination of some of Giunta's most popular books among the Italian religious Orders makes it possible to better understand his success (Table 10.4).⁴⁵

There are some cases like that of Sibilla, particularly the works of Pietro Natali and Filippo da Moncalieri.⁴⁶ In fact, both these authors had been overwhelmingly printed in France, rather than in Italy.⁴⁷ Similarly, there is a lack of Italian editions for Gabriele Barletta from 1521 to 1571.⁴⁸ In addition to these

44 EDIT16 CNCE 7999.

45 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VI, pp. 77–223.

46 On Pietro Natali, the Venetian bishop who died between 1400 and 1406, see Emore Paoli, ‘Pietro de’ Natali (Pietro Nadal)’ in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Vol. 77 (Rome, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 2012), s.v. Filippo da Moncalieri was a Minor friar who flourished in 1336/1344, see Emanuele Fontana, ‘Filippo da Moncalieri e le sue Postillae sui vangeli domenicali e quaresimali’, *Franciscana*, 11 (2009), pp. 223–255.

47 Besides a Parisian incunable (ISTC ip00627000), in the fifteenth century there were only two Italian editions of the works by Philippus de Monte Calerio, one for the *Quadragesimale* and one for the *Dominicale*. They were both printed by Uldericus Scinzenzeler in 1498 (ISTC ip00628000, ip00626000) and were owned by Italian religious orders in a few copies (RICI BIB 38061, 36538). In contrast, the sixteenth century editions were all from Lyon. Apart from the Giunta edition, they were printed for Balthazar de Gabiano by Jean Clein in 1510 (USTC 155068, 199951) and by Jacques Myt in 1515 (USTC 155262), but they were not really popular among the Italian religious libraries, being attested just in a few copies (RICI BIB 22475, 30339, 9715). Concerning the *Catalogus sanctorum* by Pietro Natali, there was just one incunable edition, printed in Vicenza in 1493 (ISTC in00006000). In the first decade of the sixteenth century the work was printed in Venice by Bartolomeo Zani for Lucantonio Giunti in 1506 (EDIT16 CNCE 39199) and by Nikolaus von Frankfurt in 1516 (EDIT16 CNCE 41625); beside these editions, there were 13 other editions from Lyons and Strasbourg, all printed between 1508 and 1542.

48 In 1521 the *Sermones* by Barletta were printed by Ludovico Britannico in Brescia (EDIT16 CNCE 4228). The edition was attested in 42 copies among the Italian religious Orders (RICI BIB 1498). The 1571 edition was printed in Venice by Giovanni Battista Somasco (EDIT16 CNCE 4229) and was owned in 49 copies (RICI BIB 1491). The other sixteenth-century

TABLE 10.4 *Most popular editions by Giacomo Giunta*

Editions	Copies
Angelo da Chivasso, <i>Summa Angelica de casibus conscientiae</i> , 1534 (RICI BIB 3101, USTC 126002)	51
Petrus Lombardus, <i>Sententiarum libri 4</i> , 1540 (BIB 9346, USTC 157368)	44
Gabriele Barletta, <i>Sermones tam quadragesimales quam de sanctis</i> , 1539 (RICI BIB 1764, USTC 147702)	36
Pietro Natali, <i>Catalogus sanctorum</i> , 1545 (RICI BIB 11382, USTC 149309)	30
Concordantiae maiores sacrorum Bibliorum, 1540 (RICI BIB 1565, USTC 120735)	27
Filippo da Moncalieri, <i>Sermones dominicales</i> , 1541 (RICI BIB 7845, USTC 121273)	26
Thomas de Aquino, <i>Cathena aurea in quatuor Evangelia</i> , 1544 (RICI BIB 11743, USTC 121306)	22

authors, there are also a number of really popular authors who were extensively printed during the sixteenth century, for example Angelo da Chivasso and Thomas de Vio, or some classics of philosophy and theology, such as Petrus Lombardus or Thomas Aquinas. Indeed, we have to consider how easily Iacopo could reach his public, through the organization that supported the capillary structure of the Giunta company, which was active in many European countries.⁴⁹ This company was able to control the international circulation of books, being involved in both the export from Italy to abroad, but also, as it is evident from this data, in importing books into Italy, operating not only in the free market zone, but also acting in competition with other Italian printers.

To summarise, these three different groups of printers can exemplify three different strategies, which may explain the impact of foreign editions on the Italian religious libraries in the first part of the sixteenth century. The first group, that of Gryphe and Petit, focused on a wide variety of editions, required some robust commercial channels, but did not show a strong commitment to

editions, mostly printed in Paris and Lyon, are 24 in number, and were distributed between 1502 and 1539; the 1539 edition by Giunta was the last for the first half of the century.

49 See on this topic Nuovo, *Book trade*, pp. 55–71.

the conquest of the market, and so it could probably be considered the standard strategy for some big companies. The second group, that of Myt and Clein, was based on few successful choices, possibly supported by familiarity with the Italian market, and enhanced by personal business relationships, such as those between Myt and De Portonariis, Gabiano and Giunti. The third approach, that of Giunta, carried out a 'totally' pervasive strategy which was able both to support his output with effective distribution, and to take advantage of a well-established knowledge of Italian cultural and commercial trends. That strategy made it possible to fill some gaps in the Italian book production; these gaps also affected some Italian authors so that this group of printers operated a double movement from and to Italy: authors were exported and editions imported.

An examination of the impact of publishers and printers who were more active in the second half of the century reveals a similar framework, but with different parameters and protagonists. The examples of Christophe Plantin, Barthélemy Honorat and Guillaume Rouillé are illuminating here. With regard to the data of the Italian religious libraries, the case of Plantin seems quite similar to that of Gryphe, as he supplied a large catalogue, but without a significant impact in terms of copies.⁵⁰ In fact only a few editions are recorded with quantities that fall between ten and twenty, the others are mostly between one and five.⁵¹ The case of Sébastien Honorat, however, is like that of Jacques Myt; finally, the case of Rouillé resembles that of Giunta in many respects, including the fact that Rouillé had strong connections with Italy and particularly with the Venetian printing world through his apprenticeship with Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari.⁵² In the cases of both Honorat and Rouillé, the difference lies on the side of their cultural choices: in addition to some classic works, they also found some success in terms of impact through authors who

50 Leon Voet, *The golden compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam, London and New York, Vangendt & Co, Routledge & Kegan Paul and Abner Schram, 1969–72).

51 21 copies: *Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria castigata*, 1565 (RICI BIB 18210, see USTC 402605); 17 copies: Santi Pagnino, *Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae*, 1578 (RICI BIB 4036); 16 copies: *Concordantiae biblicorum utriusque Testamenti*, 1585 (RICI BIB 1884, see USTC 402072); 15 copies: *Concordantiae biblicorum utriusque Testamenti*, 1581 (RICI BIB 1563, see USTC 440855); 14 copies: *Biblia sacra*, 1574 (RICI BIB 1055, see USTC 406050); 10 copies: *Oeconomia methodica concordantiarum*, 1572 (RICI BIB 9296, see USTC 401545) and Benito Arias Montano, *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas*, 1583 (RICI BIB 1513, see USTC 406623).

52 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, IX, pp. 13–41; Nathalie Zemon-Davis, 'Publisher Guillaume Rouille, businessman and humanist', in R. Schoeck (ed.), *Editing sixteenth century texts* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp. 72–112.

were particularly committed to the renewal of Catholic spirituality in the Counter-Reformation era, but their competitiveness in this field was seriously restricted by the efforts of the Venetian and Italian printing firms. The success of Honorat among the Italian religious Orders, for example, was based upon a work of the Spanish ascetical writer Francisco of Osuna, the *Pars occidentalis in accommodas hisce temporibus evangeliorum quadragesimalium expositiones*, printed in 1560.⁵³ It should however be noted that this edition, which is recorded in more than 40 copies, was also the last that came from outside of Italy. The next editions of the works of Francisco de Osuna, which are recorded in the religious libraries, are mostly from Venice, with the exception of one from Rome.⁵⁴

Among the most popular books by Rouillé was the Latin *Enchiridion* of the leading protagonist of the new moral theology, Martin de Azpilcueta, especially the edition of 1575 which offers a particularly interesting case to be compared to that of Plantin.⁵⁵ In fact, in 1575 an edition of the *Enchiridion* was also published by Plantin, but in the Italian religious libraries a mere four copies of this edition are recorded.⁵⁶ Furthermore, apart from those of Rouillé, the other (successful) editions of Azpilcueta in the Italian religious libraries are basically all Italian, a proportion printed in Venice, in Rome and in other towns.⁵⁷ So, Rouillé was certainly able to enter the market, but he was very far from being an exclusive channel for the import of this author: it is clear that the Venetian and Italian printing presses were far more competitive.

53 RICI BIB 2843, see USTC 139037.

54 *Pars occidentalis in accommodas hisce temporibus Evangeliorum quadragesimalium expositiones*, Venetijs, apud Iacobum Simbenum, 1572 (RICI BIB 1458, see EDIT16 CNCE 19792); *Dello abecedario spirituale*, In Venetia, appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1583 (RICI BIB 208, see EDIT16 CNCE 19794); *Pars occidentalis in Evangeliorum quadragesimalium expositiones*, Venetiis, apud Io. Antonium Bertanum, 1583 (RICI BIB 209, see EDIT16 CNCE 19795); *Partis meridionalis sermonum in Evangelia dominicalia totius anni*, Romae, apud Dominicum Basam, 1590 (RICI BIB 210, see EDIT16 CNCE 19796); *Il grazioso convito delle Grazie del Santissimo Sacramento dell'altare*, In Venetia, presso Gio. Battista Ciotti senese, 1598 (RICI BIB 41615, see EDIT16 CNCE 43844).

55 The 1575 edition (RICI BIB 3051, see USTC 141271) was found in 35 copies among the Italian religious Orders. They also owned four other Rouillé editions of the *Enchiridion*, all in a few copies: 1580 (RICI BIB 71239, see USTC 137573), 1584 (RICI BIB 1330, see USTC 142104), 1585 (RICI BIB 75105, see USTC 125547), 1587 (RICI BIB 10960, see USTC 154750).

56 RICI BIB 22213, see USTC 401668. A second edition of the *Enchiridion*, published in 1579, was owned in just one copy (RICI BIB 75385, see USTC 406449).

57 There were 22 Italian editions of the *Enchiridion*, almost all owned by the religious Orders; one of them came from Venice and five from Rome, the others were divided between Pavia, Brescia, Turin and Genoa.

It is clear from the graph which represents the number of editions and copies per year that in the second part of the sixteenth century the marketplace of the Italian religious libraries was definitely conquered by the Italian – and mostly Venetian – book producers; to this we can add the conclusion that this new impetus quite clearly sought to fill every gap and to systematically meet the new Counter-Reformation spiritual needs of the readers. In this framework foreign printers were much more restricted in their impact than had been the case in the early part of the century, and their attempts to increase their market share were destined to fail, particularly after 1570 when the effect of both Venetian and wider Italian growth was being felt. It should be noted, however, that this effect did not isolate Italian religious libraries from the international context. There was in fact a continuous supply from foreign printers into Italy until the end of the century, probably due to the ‘standard strategy’ approach of the big companies that certainly continued to operate internationally, despite the surge in Italian printing, due to their well-established distribution channels.

Angelica's Book: The Power of Reading in Late Renaissance Florence

Brendan Dooley

Since early modern European women's reading experience is still relatively little known, almost any concrete testimony regarding actual books and person-ages is of significant value. Hence the importance of a recently discovered assertion of ownership, in a sixteenth-century hand, on an inside page of a 1570 edition of Straparola's prohibited collection of novels, the *Notti piacevoli* (*Pleasant Nights*), published in Venice. The owner signed herself 'Angelica Baldachini', and claimed by an eloquent phrase that the book was hers, but she has left behind few other significant traces. Her identity, inasmuch as this may be ascertained with some degree of probability, her place within the late sixteenth-century Tuscan world, and her association with the work of Straparola all tell a story that sheds much light on women's engagement with books, viewed here in the context of recent scholarship on the interrelated histories of the book, of culture, of society, of women and of ideas. Her case suggests a new reading of women's literary tastes and inclinations during the transition from Renaissance to Counter-Reformation and from early to modern, which invites comparison with other cases that might emerge.

Now, *The Pleasant Nights* consisted of a collection of short stories or tales or novellas on the model of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*; and as in the work of two hundred years before, and again in the collection by Matteo Bandello dating roughly to Straparola's own time, the tales were supposedly told successively over a certain period (in this case, 'nights') by a number of friends gathered, in this case, in the garden of a noble palazzo on the island of Murano in Venice.¹ A notable feature of Boccaccio's storytelling, and perhaps a feature that added to its irresistible attractiveness to readers over centuries, was the carefully straddled line between licit and illicit, the suggestiveness about sinful

¹ An introduction to what is known about Straparola is Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Fairy Godfather: Straparola, Venice, and the Fairy Tale Tradition* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). In addition, see the introduction by Donald Beecher to the modern translation of *The Pleasant Nights* (2 vols., Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012), Volume 1. The standard Italian edition is edited by Giuseppe Rua, *Le piacevoli notti* (2 vols., Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1899–1908).

activity without actually engaging in sinfulness by telling it – i.e., lewd and polemical without blasphemy or pornography. Erotic but not pandering. Another peculiarity of Boccaccio's collection was a certain strain of religious libertinism, and the very first novel of the *Decameron* referred to popular credulity and the validity of Church traditions. Where Boccaccio preferred suggestiveness, Straparola opts for directness. In one story (6:4), significantly set in a “very famous monastery”, of “the noble city of Florence”, the nuns cannot manage to elect an appropriate abbess, so the local bishop intervenes, commanding the three chief candidates to demonstrate their prowess in any way they choose. The result is a riot of scatological humour that no veiled language could convey. A candidate urinates through the eye of a needle with perfect accuracy. Another farts the grains of wheat off the surface of one of a pair of dice. Another pulverizes a peach pit between the cheeks of her behind. Part of the humour, perhaps, lies in the way the scatological vein is surrounded by the customary prim expressions of the tamer stories. “The bishop, along with the rest of the nuns, gravely pondered the abilities of all three women”, so the story concludes. “And finding nothing in his books to render the decision in such a case, left it unresolved”. There is nothing here of the torrents of bawdy language that we find in Rabelais, with whom Straparola's name was associated by the first late sixteenth-century German translator of *Gargantua*.² He is Boccaccesque, not Rabelasian; and there is a big difference.

The Counter-Reformation radically challenged the conditions for the production of literature, and obviously, a ban on Straparola was only a matter of time. It apparently first attracted the attention of the Roman censors in 1574, not for placing on an Index but on a handbill or placard (28cm by 10cm) entitled ‘Aviso ai librai’, ‘Warning to Booksellers’, issued for the sake of information, a kind of watchlist.³ There it was included among forty-two prohibitions evidently intended to augment the list of 1558, as an interim measure before the compilation of a more complete Index. It next appeared on various local indexes around Italy in the 1580s, and would have been placed on the Roman one in 1590, in the category of works which could circulate only if corrected (i.e. with the saucy bits taken out). Then came a reprieve, when the death of Sixtus V brought the promulgation of the new Index to a halt, and meanwhile

2 Johann Fischarts, *Geschichtklitterung (Gargantua)*, ed. A. Alsleben (Halle, Niemeyer, 1891), p. 6.

3 Jesus Martínez de Bujanda, Claude Sutto, et al, *Index de Rome, 1590, 1593, 1596: avec étude des index de Parme, 1580 – de Munich, 1582 et de Rome, 1590* (Quebec, Centre D'études de la Renaissance, 1994), pp. 39–40.

it dropped off the list for the next Index of 1596.⁴ Finally in the Roman Index of 1607 it received due attention, and the name of the work was accompanied by the definitive statement “completely prohibited”.

The earliest possible date for my reader's acquisition of the book would obviously be 1570 or thereabouts. Here the story becomes slightly more complicated. Owners of books often place their names on the book cover: there is none here. Moreover, the particular edition in question was missing the first 25 pages or so. However, astonishingly, in the middle of the book, precisely on the verso of folio 144, at the end of the fourth night of the first five nights which made up part one of the work, the owner informs us about who she is, to wit: “questo libro si è di l'Angel[*l*]ica Baldachini”, “this book belongs to Angelica Baldachini”.

Who then was Angelica Baldachini, and what was she doing reading a dangerous book? For all I know, her name exists in no other book, either as an owner or as a writer. Nor can I easily proceed from the surname to the name. No ‘Baldachini’ exists among the office-holding families in Florence from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. And among the property-holders listed in the tax rolls there is no entry for this name until 1654, when we find ‘Pier Cammillo di Filippo Baldacchini, di Cortona’, being assessed for two scudi in the Red Lion district, comprising the parishes of San Pancrazio, San Paolino and Santa Maria degli Ughi, within the Santa Maria Novella quarter in Florence.⁵ If we suppose she belonged to a family which left some traces somewhere, such a lacuna would be at least be partially explainable by the indication that the family came instead from Cortona, a city acquired for a sum of money by the Florentine Republic in 1411 that eventually became a major stronghold of the Tuscan grand dukedom. According to the nineteenth-century genealogist Giovanni Battista di Crollanza, the family migrated around Italy, with an important branch eventually settling in Naples, where they were designated by the more elaborate diction, ‘Baldachini-Gargano’.⁶ How the family came to be associated with the Red Lion district is anyone's guess.⁷ He gives the

4 Concerning the indexes I follow Gigliola Fragnito, *Proibito capire: la Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2005), Chap. 1.

5 Florence, Archivio di Stato, Decima granducale, reg. 3620, fol. 399v: “Pier Cammillo di Filippo Baldacchini, di Cortona, di nuovo messo a gravezza per la città per grazia di S. A. S. d. adi 30 maggio 1654 (scudi) 2 imposteli sopra la Testa n.o. 36”.

6 Eugenio Gamurrini, *Istoria genealogica delle famiglie nobili Toscane et Umbre* (2 vols., Florence, Onofri, 1671), vol. 2 pp. 263–267.

7 The first notice I had of this association was in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Ceramelli Papiani fascicle 283.

arms as party per pale, or and or, three wavy lines dexter azure, and sinister a bar azure. Would these be Angelica's?

There were Baldachini personages who made their mark on history before and after her. I do not know if she was the child of one of these, or even the distant relative. Apart from the family's intermarriage with the Casali, lords of Cortona, in the fourteenth century, and the various ancestors who held office in the rotating administrative bodies of the city, the annals of Tuscan historical record-keeping (in spite of glaring documentary deficiencies decried by Gamurrini) refer to Filippo Baldachini (or Baldacchini), jurist and poet of the turn of the fifteenth century, who held various positions under Popes Clement VII and Leo X, culminating in the governorship of the city of Perugia.⁸ His publications included *Fortuna*, 1522, described by Giammaria Mazzuchelli the literary historian as being "of amorous argument, including verse and prose, like Sannazaro's *Arcadia*", dedicated to his brother Pier Maria. He also wrote a work called *Prothocinio*, whose title promises "the state of love, prayers of love, suspicion of love, quarrels of love, hope of love, inconstancy in love, insults in love, newly written", including sonnets, songs and various other poems.⁹ Was Philip indeed, as Gamurrini suggests, the founder of the only line of the family which survived to the end of the seventeenth century? According to this interpretation, he would have married relatively late in life just to avoid the imminent extinction of his line; and then he embarked upon a purely secular career representing the city of Cortona *vis a vis* the Tuscan government.

I suspect that Angelica, or more particularly, her father, was no Louis-François Pinagot, the lowly clog-maker discovered and, so to speak, brought back to life by Alain Corbin in a curious exercise of historical recovery called *The Life of an Unknown*.¹⁰ In the highly stratified society of her time, I cannot be sure exactly how many degrees separated her from the shoe-maker, the butcher, the baker, the wool-carder. In Florence the merchants of the Wool guild held a paradoxical position of pre-eminence due to the thirteenth-century origins of textile manufacturing, and along with the other major

8 Giammaria Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, (2 vols., Brescia, Bossini, 1758), vol. 2 pt. 3 p. 93.
9 *Prothocinio, nel quale si contiene stato d'amore, prieghi d'amore, sospetto d'amore...* (Perugia, Francesco Cartolaio, 1525).

10 Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown: the Rediscovered World of a Clog Maker in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2001), translated by Arthur Goldhammer from the original, *Le monde retrouvé de Louis-François Pinagot : sur les traces d'un inconnu, 1798-1876* (Paris, Flammarion, 1998).

guildsmen, including the judges and notaries, the dyers, the bankers, the silk merchants, physicians and furriers, played a key role in government in periods supposedly characterized by oligarchy.¹¹ As the money accumulated many members left the arts and manufactures per se and went into finance, amassing, notably in the Medici case, colossal fortunes. Florentine social stratification was literally written in stone, on the walls of the guildsmen's sanctuary at Orsanmichele, where the costly bronze statuary by eminent artists reminded citizens about the major guilds' power and wealth. However, Angelica belonged to a family whose origins lay in feudal landholding not in manufacturing, that had made its mark both in Florence and outside, whose status in Florence would have been recognized but not functional, more like visiting dignitaries or prelates than local patricians, permitting them to circulate among the elite and participate, but only by invitation, in city and state officialdom.

The most concrete evidence I have about Angelica is the writing itself. But a single line of text may reveal much. First and foremost, I know she was a writer, not just a reader. Her knowledge of letters was not merely passive. And when she writes, she does more than simply sign her name. She joins an idea to it; indeed she incorporates her name-saying into a complete sentence. She is in full possession therefore of what François Furet refers to as a powerful instrument of change.¹² Reading may change us; writing has the capacity to change others. Her education has thus gone one step beyond that of many of her sex. For hundreds of years, according to work on the history of literacy, women were taught by Church and family only the bare essentials for ensuring good behaviour and religious devotion, so they learned reading unaccompanied by writing.¹³ Reading served to channel the mind along the paths of piety; recommended texts were the breviary and the lives of saints. Writing was a useless appurtenance. Angelica informs us by her writing that she possesses a special distinction.

There is more in this line of text than meets the eye. Surely writing is a gesture of the mind as well as of the hand; and there are ways of understanding how to interpret the one in the light of the other. Good calligraphy was always regarded as a chief professional qualification, and in Angelica's own time, Angelo Ingegneri, in a work on *The Good Secretary*, advised readers, "this skill

11 John M. Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280–1400* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

12 François Furet, Jacques Ozouf, *Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982).

13 I was inspired here by the general account of Martyn Lyons, in Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West*, tr. Lydia Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 313–44.

is so important that there have been some, who, picking up the pen by chance one or two times and forming three or four letters in a good hand, were able to introduce themselves into the office and eventually went from being ordinary servants or even chamber valets (unrecognized by their masters) to being head Secretaries beyond their greatest expectations".¹⁴ The chief criteria for good handwriting? That it should be legible "with the least effort".¹⁵

What kind of handwriting did she have? She used none of the elaborate descenders or pronounced ascenders typical of the mercantile scripts included in Giovanni Antonio Tagliente's *The True Art of Excellent Writing* published in Venice in 1530.¹⁶ And why should she? The style was typical of ledger books precisely because of its distinctiveness and resistance to the casual imitator. Nor did she use the florid 'imperial' or seal-type initials typical of important documents and memorials. The "natural Florentine letter" in Tagliente featured a basically vertical slant, pointed descenders, slightly longer than the more looping ascenders. Hers was not like this. Instead, her writing resembled the one denominated "chancery or notarial letter", with its soft slant, and waist line more or less halfway from the base line to the ascender line. Chancery scripts had already gained wide currency, and were "commonly used in missive letters", noted one advocate, "because more delightful to read and available to all".¹⁷ With her own variations, this is what she used.

What I can conclude unequivocally from the writing, on the basis of a comparison with thousands of other hands from the sixteenth through the seventeenth century, is that it belongs to a person roughly contemporary with the printing of the book: i.e., sometime not long after 1570. The irregular, perhaps uncertain, use of double consonants, as well as the minuscule 'a' in the forename, and the attaching of the article to the first letter in the forename seem typical of the period. Even granting the possible operation of personal choice in the detaching or joining of letters, we cannot ignore a slight hint of the emerging seventeenth-century trend to a more fluid 'cursive' kind of writing,

14 *Del buon segretario* (Rome, Faciotto, 1594), bk. 2, Chap. 1, p. 35.

15 *Ibid.*, bk. 1 Chap 9, p. 30.

16 *La vera arte de lo eccellente scrivere de diverse varie sorti de litere* (Venice, per Giouanniantonio & i fratelli da Sabbio, 1530), mentioned in Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Hopkins, 1989), p. 325; I also consulted Anne Jacobson Schutte, 'Teaching Adults to Read in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Giovanni Antonio Tagliente's *Libro Maistrevole*', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17 (1986), pp. 3–16.

17 Grendler, p. 327, quoting Domenico Manzoni, 'Dell'alfabeto doppio come deve esser fatto et ordinato', appended to his *Libro mercantile ordinato col suo giornale e alfabeto* (Venice, Comin da Trino, 1564).

which historians of calligraphy associate with the Baroque or possibly even with an advancing influence of French chancery scripts.¹⁸

If the time seems right, so does the place. The give-away is the recourse to a seemingly reflexive form of the verb 'to be' to indicate possession. In the Tuscan dialect, then as now, the particle 'si' can be an impersonal pronoun, as in the diction, 'noi si va', in place of 'noi andiamo'. Somewhat rarer was the use of the reflexive 'essere'; but a manuscript of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, now in the Vatican Library, contains the inscription, "Questo libro si è di me Antonio di Bartolommeo... MCCCCXXIII".¹⁹ A fifteenth-century manuscript in the Laurentian Library containing works by Petrarch includes the inscription: "Questo libro si è di Fruosino di Lodovicho di Ciecie da Pragnio".²⁰ The Tuscan manuscripts, dating to somewhat earlier, of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, begin "Questo libro si è di San Brandano", indicating ownership of the contents rather than the container.²¹ Finally, a fifteenth-century codex of works by Frate Guido da Pisa in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence among the Palatine manuscripts, contains the following imperative: "Questo libro si è di ser piero d'orsino cera [iuo]li; chi lo truoua lo renda". "This book belongs to ser piero d'orsino ceraioi, whoever finds it must return it".²² There was nothing particularly outlandish about Angelica's usage – as long as we situate it in a Tuscan context. Where did she get the idea? The literary diction could not have come from common speech; she must have seen it written on some manuscript or book at home or at a neighbour's.

I am of course not only interested in what the writing looks like as an indicator of time and place. I am also concerned with where it is in the book. Why did she sign inside and not outside? Libraries in modern times give highly

18 Francesco Ascoli, *Dalla cancelleresca all'inglese. L'avventura della calligrafia in Italia dal Cinquecento ad oggi* (Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2012), Chap. 1.

19 Rhiannon Daniels, *Boccaccio and the Book: Production and Reading in Italy 1340 – 1520* (London, Legenda, 2009), p. 89.

20 Consider Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, ms. Laurenziano XCI. inf. 2 :56: Mcccclxvi // Questo libro si è di Fruosino di Lodovicho di Ciecie da Pragnio / et di sua mano et scritto del mese di febbraio et di marzo 1466 / e tratta di tutte le chanzone et sonetti e ballate e madriale / del famosissimo poeta messer Franciescho Petrarca poeta / fiorentino et choxi anchora ci è scritto tutta la vita sua / e detto libro si chiama et è titolato Canzoniere di messer Franciescho. I found this noted in Paola Vecchi Galli, 'Onomastica petrarchesca. Per *Il canzoniere*', *Italique* 8 (2005), pp. 27–44, parag. 26.

21 This expression is in Maria Antonietta Grignani and Carla Sanfilippo (eds.), *La navigazione di San Brandano* (Milan, Bompiani, 1975).

22 Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *I Codici Palatini della R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze* (3 vols., Florence and Rome, Tipografia dei Fratelli Bencini, 1890), Vol. II p. 16.

utilitarian instructions about the marking of books. Apart from the typical library stamp on the title page and occasionally on the page edges for unequivocal identification, there may be a stamp on page 29 or elsewhere, simply in order to claim the book in case the title page gets lost, while facilitating easy location of the stamp for cancellation in case of a change of ownership. Was Angelica doing the same thing? That is, did she lose the title page and re-sign for identification purposes on folio 144v? Or did she receive this copy already mutilated and stake her claim where she could? Was this simply the first wide blank space in her volume?

Perhaps more to the point, was there something particularly compelling about the fifth story of night four, told by the fictional storyteller Leonora, which prompted her intervention? The story concerns a simpleton called Flaminio who, so says the short description, goes in search of death and instead finds life. To the many people he encounters along the route, he demands, "Can you tell me perhaps what is this thing called death?" Supposing this was 'her' story, it surely would have given her much food for thought. The question regards not only every Christian, but every human, as the many myths concerning death in every culture bear witness. Perhaps she too contemplated the paradox of death, of the land whence no traveller returns, of the ultimate experience, which no art or science can reproduce, explain, or describe, the one experience which is cancelled in the making, and which has puzzled every society since the dawn of humanity and the origins of memory. The story places the enigma of death most eloquently in the mouth of a hermit, who utters:

this is a most terrible and fearful being, and is called by wise men the last end of all our sufferings, a misery to the happy, happiness to the miserable, the end and limit of all worldly things. It divides friend from friend. It parts father from sons and son from father, mother from daughter and daughter from mother. It cuts the bond of marriage. And finally it separates the soul from the body causing the body to lose all its powers and to grow so putrid and evil that all men flee it and abandon it as an abominable thing.

As so often in Straparola the story ends magically. By no other means could Flaminio gain the revelation to which humans may not be privy (barring the actual incidence of post-death experiences). The device is ingenious. He finally encounters an old hag carrying a sword and club along with a bag of medicines and ointments which, so she says, represent life, although obviously only in the limited sense of the pathetic attempts to beautify the ugly, to ease the pain, to

slow the decline. No sooner does he ask her his usual question about death, than she chops off his head. Next she glues the head back on again, at first backwards, giving Flaminio an unexpected and raucously bawdy view of his own naked behind, meant also to signify perhaps that death gives a different perspective on life. Did Angelica long for this?

Whatever may have been her inclination to this story or to this place in the book, the choice to claim Straparola's *Pleasant Nights* as "her own book", already reveals some important features of the emerging profile of this book-owning personage. Straparola, as I have already said, was an adventurous author – by which I mean an author, like Giovanni Boccaccio before him, who wrote about the manners and mores of his own society, often in the medium of attractive, ironic, and sometimes explicit, narratives of transgression, pushing this last aspect slightly further, in fact, than the earlier author. By the time Angelica would have acquired the book, books like it were already under scrutiny by the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index. Homes were being searched; booksellers and librarians were constantly in trouble. By associating herself with this book Angelica not only claimed its content as 'her own' but also its context: the context of the forbidden, of transgression, of danger – if only in the privacy of her boudoir.

How many other women owned a copy of this book? Female readership of imaginative literature was by Angelica's time already a stereotype. Straparola, no doubt influenced by a convention of the genre, writing to "You gracious and friendly women", claimed to have published his work "only to please you". There is no outright pandering to a female audience here, unlike in Agnolo Firenzuola's 'Epistle...in praise of women', introducing the *Ragionamenti* (Florence, 1548), another typical collection of novels. And whatever misogyny Straparola may have shared with Boccaccio is never explicit. He does not make his chief characters say anything similar to what Boccaccio has a character say in the opening appeal to the *Decameron*, that "man is the head of woman, and...without a man to guide us it rarely happens that any enterprise of ours is brought to a worthy conclusion".²³ Nor does he mention anywhere, as Boccaccio did, that wives are a distraction from letters because of their vanity, intrusiveness and antipathy to study. Indeed, says Boccaccio, "what can one say about their hatred for books, when they see anyone opening up one?"²⁴ Nor do we find such accusations levelled at women in Straparola, as we do expressed by

23 *Decameron*, tr. George Henry McWilliam (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972), Proem, parags. 9–11.

24 Giuseppe L. Passerini (ed.), *Le vite di Dante scritte da Giovanni e Filippo Villani, da Giovanni Boccaccio, Leonardo Aretino e Giannozzo Manetti* (Florence, Sansoni, 1917), p. 24.

Boccaccio speaking of Eve in his *On Famous Women*. I tend to think that when he formulates the ideal company of storytellers in his book's framing tale to include a majority of women, he does so not just because his great predecessor did so in the *Decameron*, but because he would have found a female audience somehow congenial.

Rummaging for clues among women's possessions in the period has so far not yielded any definitive results about women's reading. Probate inventories would be the usual places to go for attaching owners' names to their books in early modern times; for the cities of Florence and Venice they have been studied in some detail. Unfortunately few such inventories actually refer to possessions belonging to women, and of these, only a tiny number mention books. In Venice, a city of books, of booksellers, and arguably, of readers, a study of 600 probate inventories from between 1560 and 1600, many of them referring to books, turned up only three women's lists where books were mentioned.²⁵ A similar study in Treviso regarding the second half of the sixteenth century turned up a larger number of women's lists, amounting to some 12 percent of the total. In this last sample, prominent titles included various offices of the Blessed Virgin, a *Libro dei Santi Padri*, a *Fiori Preciosi raccolti da tutte le opere spirituali*, and a Charlemagne romance entitled *L'Innamoramento di Carlo Magno*.²⁶ Work on Florentine probate inventories shows the same patterns. Typical books owned by women include the predictable assortment of religious titles, a *Trionfo della Croce*, a *Leggendario*, a *Vangeli di Quaresima*. Secular titles included Dante, Petrarch, etc.²⁷ I cannot help thinking that such inventories give no particularly accurate picture of book possession, not least because any books possessed by females which would have been included in inventories made up for males, are impossible to detect.

The book historian's search for the slightest definite traces of women's engagement with books has encountered some anomalies of interest mainly in a negative sense, for the caution they inspire regarding any excessive reliance on book lists for the history of reading. A Florentine woman named "monna

25 I. Palumbo-Fossati, 'Livres et lecteurs dans la Venise du xvie siècle', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 49 (1985), pp. 482–513. Concerning this whole issue I drew much from Xenia von Tippelskirch, *Sotto controllo: Letture femminili in Italia nella prima età moderna* (Rome, Viella, 2011) especially Chapter 2.

26 Laura Minel, *Libri e lettori a Treviso (1550–1630)*, (unpublished PhD thesis, Università degli Studi di Venezia, 1997).

27 Von Tippelskirch, *Sotto controllo*, p. 47, exhumes this data from Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentins : 1413–1608* (Florence, L.S. Olschki, 1984), Appendix. In addition, I learned from Leandro Perini 'Libri e lettori nella Toscana del Cinquecento', in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento* (3 vols., Florence, Olschki, 1983), vol. 1 109–131.

Lessandra", evidently the daughter or even possibly the wife of Manetto Fei, to whom her name is attached by the possessive 'di' between her name and his on folios 572r–573r in file number 2655 of the *Magistrato ai Pupilli* or Probate court, is shown to have left behind her a tiny hoard of 14 esoteric titles, mostly in Latin, on topics ranging from astronomy to astrology, from cosmography to geography.²⁸ Two single religious titles stand out from the rest: a Bible and a *Trionfo della Croce*. I am almost inclined to view the collection as being divided between the deceased and someone else who may have died before, perhaps a husband, or even the father. Two texts seem to evince the interests of a sailor or ship owner: a work on "the astrolabe", and a "manuscript concerning navigation", perhaps an on-board diary; but this is all I can say about Manetto Fei. About monna Lessandra I am still not sure.

Connecting collections to interests is no easier when the owner is better known. Consider the case of Cosimo I, the Tuscan grand duke when Angelica would have been a child. He owned over 1300 books, including many that had been given, and sometimes dedicated, to him by the authors, and others acquired *en bloc* from the estate of Giovanni Mazzuoli (called lo Stradino) or from members of his own family.²⁹ How many of these were actually acquired by and for women is certainly an open question. Also, there is no way of knowing how many of these he actually read, except by finding traces in his correspondence, and contemporary testimonies do not regard him as having been a particularly learned man. Individuals who possessed many fewer books might have been more likely to read them. Yet his books served not only his own needs but those of a court circle including his master of public works Giorgio Vasari and his physician Baccio Baldini. Not necessarily in the case of Cosimo, but in general, books serve many other purposes besides reading: as decorative objects, professional qualifications, status symbols, reminders of the giver (living or dead), and even, in the case of holy books, as talismans against evil or protections for the home. I will not pursue the theme of mutilation, or more precisely, the perennial recycling of images from books that goes on to this day, and which the disappearance of the original bindings and much else has rendered virtually untraceable. In the case of Angelica's book the frontispiece is gone, but the accompanying deficit of thirty or more other pages argues against deliberate destruction.

²⁸ The document is extracted in Bec, *Les livres des florentins*, p. 246.

²⁹ Leandro Perini, 'Contributo alla ricostruzione della biblioteca privata dei granduchi di Toscana nel XVI secolo', *Studi di storia medievale e moderna per Ernesto Sestan* (Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 1980), pp. 571–668. The library list is in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Guardaroba medicea, 28.

Inquisition records occasionally mention books, especially scandalous ones, although most of the Florentine Inquisition records were lost in the depredations of the Napoleonic era, except presumably for copies of those cases that were remanded to Rome, and which the current work over the last twenty years following the opening of the Roman Inquisition archives to scholars has yet to identify.³⁰ The relatively better known and more complete records for sixteenth-century Venice may shed some light on the question. There, a certain poor spinner named Lunarda possessed a copy of Calvin's *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva* explicating a radical anti-Roman ecclesiology accompanied by an equally unorthodox theology. A certain Aquilina admitted to possessing, apart from relatively innocuous texts such as Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Francesco il Cieco di Ferrara's *Mambriano*, also Benedetto da Mantova's *Beneficio di Cristo*, an underground classic of Italian crypto-pelagianism, thought by Leopold von Ranke to have been lost, but rediscovered in a unique copy at St. Johns College, Cambridge, in the mid-nineteenth century.³¹ In spite of their protestations to the contrary, couched in terms calculated to flatter the prejudices of their accusers, these women probably read the dangerous books found in their possession. But I have no way of knowing whether Angelica was among them.³²

The next best thing to those relatively rare explicit testimonies to reading which we may find in letters, diaries, or journals, is the evidence found in the books themselves. Annotations within books may be of two types: indications on the book that the book belonged to so-and-so, and indications among the pages that so-and-so read certain passages, because they underlined or

30 Gustav Henningsten and John Tedeschi, *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe* (DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), p. 13: "If the Roman Holy Office was a victim of Napoleonic looting, other important provincial Inquisitions, in Florence, Milan, or Palermo, were victims of Jacobin riots or suppression of the religious establishments which housed them. The consequence was the large-scale destruction or disappearance of their records". I also consulted Modesto Rastrelli, *Fatti attinenti all'Inquisizione e sua istoria generale e particolare di Toscana* (Florence, Anton Giuseppe Pagani, 1782).

31 These episodes are noted in Von Tippelskirch, *Sotto controllo*, pp. 106–109; concerning the *Beneficio di Cristo* I was particularly informed by Adriano Prosperi and Carlo Ginzburg, *Giochi di pazienza: un seminario sul Beneficio di Cristo* (Turin, G. Einaudi, 1975); while keeping in mind Philip McNair, 'Benedetto da Mantova, Marcantonio Flaminio, and the 'Beneficio di Cristo': A Developing Twentieth-Century Debate Reviewed', *The Modern Language Review*, 82 (1987), pp. 614–624.

32 Federico Barbierato has found numerous prohibited books in circulation among tradesmen in seventeenth-century Venice. *The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop: Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice* (Farnham, Surrey, Ashgate, 2012), Chap. 1.

commented upon them – i.e., marginalia.³³ My volume by Straparola was owned, Angelica tells us, by herself. She never tells us that she read it. However by signing within rather than without, on the middle page rather than on the title page, on a typeset page halfway through the book, rather than on the page identifying what the book is, she engages not only with the materiality of the book but with the material in the book. Hers is a reader's signature as much as an owner's signature – indeed the signature of an owner who wishes to be known also as a reader, and more particularly, as a reader of this book.

By signing her book in the middle, closer to the beginning than to the end, on folio 144 of 353 in all, she revealed herself as one not prone to perusing just prefaces and conclusions, so to speak, eating the icing and leaving the rest of the cake. Some recent work has considered that novel-reading may have been partly responsible, at least in an English context, for introducing readers to the habit of reading straight through a text, borne away by vitality of a story. According to this view, at some point between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, segmented reading gave way to sequential reading.³⁴ Hunting and pecking around a text, grabbing this or that morsel of information, of insight, was replaced at least in some quarters by the leisurely enjoyment of a whole book. And no doubt, in order for there to be habitual page-turning on the part of readers, there had to be the invention of the writing that was a 'page-turner'. Where to place such a development along the time-line of literature however may be open to question. Novels are always compiled of individual episodes; just as collections like those by Boccaccio, Bandello and Straparola, are compiled of separate novels with the more rapid rotations of single action contained within the greater revolutions of the story about how the stories are told. Straparola intended his stories to be read through, perhaps on successive days, and like the novelists before him, organized his material in order to bring readers into the telling of all the tales. In Angelica's case, at least so far as we can surmise from the evidence of her intervention, he appears to have had his way.

One path to understanding how Angelica may have read or appreciated Straparola's book begins with the author's own expectations. Apart from the

33 Among the many studies on marginalia I was particularly illuminated by Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Actio'n: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (Nov. 1990), pp. 31–78.

34 Robert Darnton takes Kevin Sharpe to task on this aspect, in *A Case for Books: Past, Present, Future* (New York, Public Affairs, 2009), Chap. 10. Sharpe's conclusions were in *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000).

poem addressed to the ladies in part two (later moved to the beginning of the work, where it would have been situated among the missing pages of my edition), I can refer once again to the framing tale. Vaguely obscene, subtly suggestive, playfully erotic, the stories were read and obviously enjoyed in mixed company, by the group of 14 guests plus the two hosts in the Palazzo on Murano. Storytelling was not the only amusement. There was also (so tells Straparola) dancing, music, and song. But the verbal play seemed to be predominant in this voluble crowd, just as in the group described decades before by Castiglione in *The Courtier*, set in Mantua. And since the reactions of the group to the stories recounted by each teller form part of Straparola's narrative, let me see what they have to say. And what strikes most forcibly is the emotional response he attributes to the listeners at the Palazzo and, we may guess, expected from his real audience. For instance: "the story told by Lauretta moved them several times to tears". When they heard about the villain dying (Teodoro) or being chased away (Posturmio), and the hero (Saladino) saved from the gallows, "they were pleased indeed, and gave thanks to God".³⁵ Story two of the first night, told by Alteria, again again "pleases everyone", and a discussion ensues. As the subject is the adventures of the famous thief Cassandrino, one of the listeners comments that Alteria must be a thief herself, to have so well understood her character; whereas Bembo notes gallantly that, thief she is, but only a stealer of hearts. After the fourth tale of night one, regarding incest, listeners remain "no less pitying than astonished". More detailed is the response to tale five, after which "everyone with one voice commended the virtue and forbearance of the humiliated Dimitrio, especially as he had before him the priest who was the cause of all his shame". At the same time, they remarked about the priest's terror at being discovered, so dramatically and embarrassingly, barefoot and with only a shirt on, in the house of Dimitrio. Here again the discussion ensues and there are "various reasonings", which evidently stray from the subject at hand, and the hostess is impelled to call the group once again to order.³⁶ A novel about the harsh revenge taken by a scholar on three women who tricked him, one of the few tales told by a male member of the group, elicits some indignation: too severe, say the hostess and the other women – "displeasing and dishonest". The scenario of the framing tale repeats the stereotype of a gender difference in what is allowed to be told or heard, in real life honoured more in words than indeed.³⁷ More detailed is the reaction to story four of the second night, where the main character is exposed to ridicule.

35 Rua, (ed.), *Le piacevoli notti*, I, pp. 22–23.

36 Rua, (ed.), *Le piacevoli notti*, I, p. 67.

37 Rua, (ed.), *Le piacevoli notti*, I, p. 94.

"The honest woman began to laugh at the foolishness of Carlo, who, thinking to embrace his beloved Theodosia, embraces and kisses pots and pans instead." What we can gather from Straparola's presentation is a supposition that the stories are think pieces, as it were: tales in which virtues and vices are placed in various situations in order to reason out what values are in play.

Testimonies about storytelling as a pastime in the Renaissance are too numerous and too detailed to have been mere literary conveniences invented by authors for framing their tales. Conversation per se, of course, occurred in many settings, among many kinds of people. What distinguished elite conversation from its popular counterpart was, we may suppose, a certain formality, and attention to social levels and social conventions respecting rank. These aspects received expression not only in the dialogue form inherited from classical antiquity and transported to the salons of noble palazzi by the likes of Castiglione. Civil conversation was itself the object of a treatise by Stefano Guazzo published in 1574, presumably in just the years when Angelica would have been reading her stories. According to Guazzo, conversation was not a chance exchange of views, but an art to be cultivated. There were "good conversations" distinguished by efforts to "teach, question, confer, negotiate, counsel, Judge, and express the affections of our soul, whereby men come to love one another and to associate with one another".³⁸ And there were conversations which were characterized by backbiting, scandalmongering, gossip.³⁹ Norms ought to be observed (so he went on) in verbal intercourse between the old and the young, the noble and the non-noble, princes and private persons, the learned and the ignorant, citizens and foreigners, religious and lay people, men and women, and among people conversing within the same family. And in the last book of his treatise he gave an example of civil conversation occurring among the usual group of wellborn guests at the house of signora Caterina Sacca dal Ponte in the city of Casale. Although they do not actually tell stories of the sort we find in Straparola, they certainly use short narratives to illustrate this or that principle which they wish to discuss in their various arguments – as when Cavaliere Bottazzo refers, as an example of astuteness, to a young woman whose husband implored her never to allow herself to be kissed by another, and, remaining ever faithful to that principle, allowed herself nonetheless to be pleased by a lover in every part of her anatomy other than her mouth.

Scipione Bargagli, on the other hand, referred explicitly to storytelling as a "pleasant" parlour game, among others such as "the schoolmaster" and

38 Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversatione: divisa en quattro libri* (Brescia, Tomaso Bozzola, 1574), p. 13r.

39 Ibid., pp. 28v and ff.

“the music of the devil”, which he contrasted with “serious” games like “favours asked between spouses”, and “epitaphs”. In the game of “novels”, which consists of nothing other than the narrating of stories, “one must allow for the narration to be drawn out to some length”. To be sure, the procedure of narration he explained in Game 100 was slightly different from the one suggested in the framing tales in Straparola’s or anyone else’s novel collections. After drawing lots on who would do the narrating, the narrator would assign to each member of the company a name corresponding to one of the elements in the story, which, upon hearing this mentioned, they were supposed to stand up and acknowledge.

If the story is to be the one about the innkeeper’s daughter, with that amusing switch of beds, to one [member of the audience] he would give the name of the innkeeper, to another of the innkeeper’s wife, to another the name of the cradle, another the bed, and so on.⁴⁰

Game 130 also required the telling of tales, but in a slightly different context. The game was called “how to reacquire the favour of the beloved”, and the tales told were to have this as the theme. The more magical or fabulous plots he considered to be “less fine”, and therefore best left for telling by “simple girls”.⁴¹

Would Angelica have been engaged in such parlour games, and would her reading of Straparola’s work have been somehow associated with this practice? Surely if this was a book to be shared in a company of storytellers, she would have named it on the front, also to ensure that it was not confused with other copies of the same book that may have been circulating among the audience. Indeed, if the book was to be exposed at all to the gaze of persons from outside the precincts of her private spaces, her books and her things, I can imagine the placing of some slight mark on the binding, at least to indicate which book it was, and yet no such mark remains. Instead, the book was bound, presumably as soon as it left the print shop, in bland vellum covers, with no other indications or distractions than those presented by the vellum itself, which in its newness would not even have presented the streaking and occasional blotchiness that we see now. True, books at the time were still few enough in circulation that the vocal designation of ‘Angelica’s book’ might have been enough to distinguish the volume in any kind of company. But the placing of the signature in the middle rather than the beginning of the book seems to gesture

40 Scipione Bargagli, *Dialogo de’ giuochi che nelle vegghie sanesi si usano di fare* (Venice, Gio. Antonio Bertano, 1574), pp. 139–140.

41 Ibid., page misumbered 274 in this edition.

instead to a private reading, a private enjoyment, a book belonging to her intimacy rather than to her public persona, whatever that may have been. We may therefore take her appreciation of the work, at least in part, to have been a private appreciation: an individual rapprochement with the subject matter, the personages and the actions of the tales, which she may have discussed with others in a formal setting, but which may also and perhaps mainly, have had a personal dimension.

One final question about Angelica remains, regarding the possible effect her reading may have had on her behaviour, her thinking, her experience, her life. In pondering it I am brought back to the trials of culture in an age of censorship. Perhaps at no other time before or since, has imaginative literature been thought to affect people's minds so profoundly. True, one of the most moving accounts of reading in all of literature we find already in Dante, writing nearly three hundred years earlier, who dramatized the irresistible allure of the chivalric romances in his account of Paolo and Francesca, as told by the latter.⁴² We may justly say that Dante, through Francesca, has described the seductive power of reading that Roland Barthes theorized not only by reference to the "fetishistic" thrill of the vowels and plosives in our mouths, but also the "image of delectation" concocted by the gradual discovery of what, also for reasons of prudence, is hidden from us. In the event, of course, Francesca and Paolo rejoin one another not in an earthly paradise but in the second circle of hell, inhabited by the lustful. Such possibilities terrified moralists and theologians during the time when Angelica was reading, and attempts were made to stem the promiscuous production and diffusion of literature that threatened to corrupt the young and encourage defection from the right ways of Christianity. Angelica too may have been terrified; but I assume, she did not desist, at least, not from the reading. After the first crisis of the Counter-Reformation, and possibly after Angelica had left the scene, the theme of reading, mind, and body comes back in Cervantes, whose hero's head is so impregnated with the fanciful love literature of his youth that he imagines himself to be living in the world of his books. Life and literature are bizarrely intertwined in the attempt he makes to craft a correspondence between the read and the real. Perhaps Angelica longed for the love of her life to appear in the form of a gallant suitor who would take her away to an enchanted world where they might live in perpetual delight, but was wise enough to know and accept the difference between the possible and the impossible, the reality and the dream.

42 *Inferno* 3: 127–135, Dorothy Sayers translation (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 100–101. Concerning the subject, John Freccero, 'The Portrait of Francesca. *Inferno* v', *Modern Language Notes*, 124 (2009), pp. S7–S38.

Although the conjectures in this research have been many and the certainties very few, I can conclude on a tripartite note of factuality. Angelica, whoever she was, owned this book. Secondly, Angelica and perhaps other women like her read dangerous books and were not afraid to assert their ownership of such books. Finally, this book made such an impression on Angelica that she wanted to communicate to others her engagement with it. The next instalment of this story will hopefully round out these conclusions with whatever else can be known about Angelica, her book and her world.

PART 4

***Moving Music and Translating Tongues:
Literature and Music between Countries***



Confessional Networks, Cultural Exchange and the Printed Music of Jerome Commelin (c.1550–1597)

Matthew Laube

As scholars of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have redirected their gaze away from a handful of large religious centres and towards areas once dismissed as peripheral, the uniquely international nature of early modern Calvinism has come firmly into view. Collections of essays such as *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* and *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, as well as Graeme Murdock's study of Hungary and Transylvania, for instance, all illustrate the extent to which Calvinism took root simultaneously in multiple social contexts and cultural milieus stretching from the British Isles to the heart of Eastern Europe.¹ Yet we also know that the areas in which Calvinism flourished were far from disconnected. Calvinist universities and academies typically hosted more foreign students than their Lutheran counterparts, and students moved relatively frequently and easily from one Calvinist university town to the next.² Calvinist exiles migrated to cities like London, Emden, Geneva and Heidelberg for safe haven. Once there, they relayed first-hand information about road networks to those in danger, even describing little-known routes not found on sixteenth-century maps.³ Charting Calvin's own epistolary network between 1542 and 1563 reveals his connections with individuals over a considerable distance, from Italy in the south to the Netherlands, Scotland and Scandinavia in the north.⁴

But while some Calvinists participated in confessional networks to escape religious persecution or to supplement their education, others

1 Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985); Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994); Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2000).

2 Karin Maag, *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620* (Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1995), pp. 54–60.

3 Lee Palmer Wandel, 'Exile in the Reformation', in David Warren Sabean and Malina Stefanovska (eds.), *Space and Self in Early Modern European Cultures* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 200–218.

4 Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: a Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 109–114.

moved for professional advancement. One such Calvinist was the printer and publisher Jerome Commelin (c.1550–1597).⁵ Born in the Southern Netherlandish city of Douai, Commelin began working as a printer in Lyon and Geneva in the 1570s. In 1587 Commelin officially moved his print shop to Heidelberg, where he accepted the post of principal printer (*typis principis*) by appointment of the Elector Palatine. By the 1590s, Commelin had expanded his activities as a printer and worked increasingly as a publisher and seller of books.⁶ For some books, Commelin functioned as both printer and publisher. But for other books the task of printing was performed by, among others, his former colleague Jean II de Tournes in Geneva and members of his own family in the Dutch Republic, including his uncle, Jan Commelin, who was a printer and publisher with offices in Amsterdam and Leiden.⁷ During his time in Heidelberg Jerome Commelin thus maintained a tight familial, religious and professional network stretching from Geneva to the Netherlands. Therefore, when he died in 1597, Commelin's uncle, Jan, and his son-in-law, Nikolaus Bonutius, took control of the firm with relatively little disruption, continuing until 1604 to publish texts prepared by Commelin before his death.⁸

The majority of Commelin's output catered to the local learned market of students and professors, and consisted of works of antiquity and theology including, for example, Euripides, Virgil, the Patriarchs as well as the writings of Calvinist theologians.⁹ However, the Commelin firm also produced a small number of music books between 1587 and 1604. In 1587 Commelin printed a now lost bilingual edition of the Genevan Psalter, dedicated to the Palatine regent Johann Casimir and which contained the original French psalm texts alongside their German setting by the Königsberg jurist, Ambrosius Lobwasser.¹⁰

5 Wilhelm Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus, 1550–1597: Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Drucker-Verlegers*, Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten, vol. 47 (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1938); Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 184–185.

6 Port, *Commelinus*, pp. 21–44. In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music trade, publishers typically supplied the printer with paper, marketed, stored and sold the books once printed, and in many cases financed an entire project. See Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–1640', *Journal of the Royal Music Association*, 130 (2005), pp. 1–37.

7 Port, *Commelinus*, pp. 16–17 and 45.

8 Ibid., p. 46.

9 For all of the titles printed or published by the Commelin firm between 1574 and 1623, see Port, *Commelinus*, pp. 49–89.

10 Port, *Commelinus*, p. 122.

TABLE 12.1 *Partbook editions published by the Commelin firm in Heidelberg, 1597–1604.*

Composer/Editor	Title	Year	Dedicatee	Number of Voice Parts	Language of Text
Simon Goulart, ed.	<i>Cinqvante pseaumes de David</i> , RISM B/I 1597 ⁶ .	1597	Collegium Musicum of Amsterdam	5–6	French
Jan Tollius	<i>Moduli trium vorum, e sacris bibliis plerique omnes desumpti</i> , RISM A/1 T 913.	1597	Marcus Cornelius, Bishop of Padua	3	Latin
Jan Tollius	<i>Madrigali a sei voci</i> , RISM A/1 T 914.	1597	Collegium Musicum of Amsterdam	6	Italian
Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck	<i>Cinqvante pseau- mes de David</i> , RISM A/1 S 7244.	1604	Collegium Musicum of Amsterdam	4–7	French

This essay examines the four partbook collections of polyphonic vocal music published by the Commelin firm in Heidelberg between 1597 and 1604, whose titles are listed in Table 12.1 and title pages are shown in Figures 12.1–12.4.¹¹ Two of the volumes Commelin published contained the music of the Dutch composer and singer, Jan Tollius (c.1550–after 1603). Born in Amersfoort, Tollius worked in Italy as chapel master at cathedrals in Rieti and Assisi before converting to Lutheranism and accepting a position in 1601 as chapel singer in the Danish court of Christian IV. Commelin also published in 1597 an anthology of secular compositions by, among others, Munich chapel master Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594) that were fitted with Genevan psalm texts by French poet and theologian Simon Goulart (1543–1628). The last partbook edition published by the Commelin firm was a 1604 volume of Genevan psalms, newly arranged for four to seven voices by the Amsterdam organist, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621).

11 Polyphonic is a term denoting music for multiple independent voices. A partbook contains the music for one voice part; hence, the printing of polyphonic compositions required the production of multiple books.

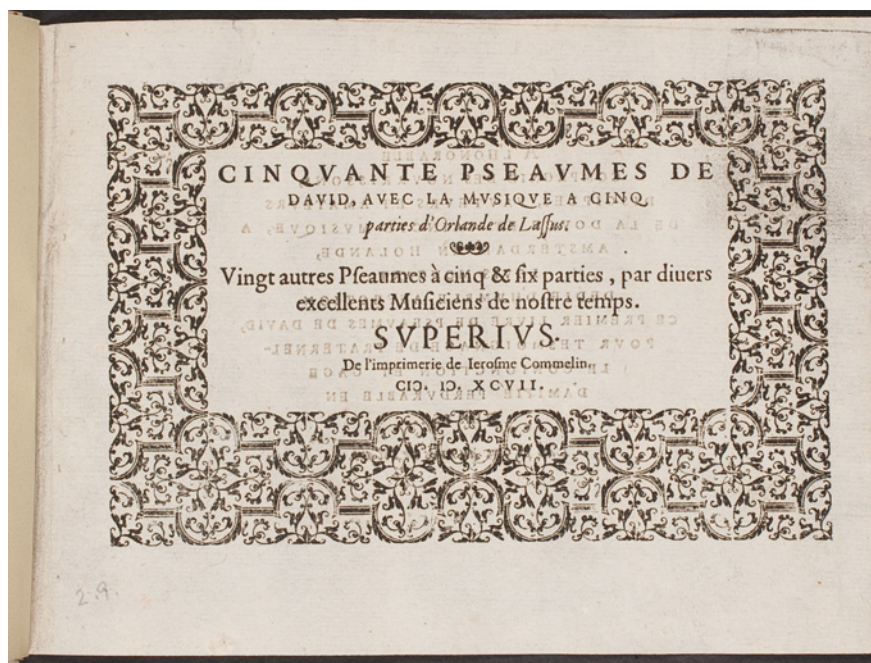


FIGURE 12.1 *Title page of Simon Goulart's Cinquante pseauxmes de David (Commelin, 1597). Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: 59.1 Musica*

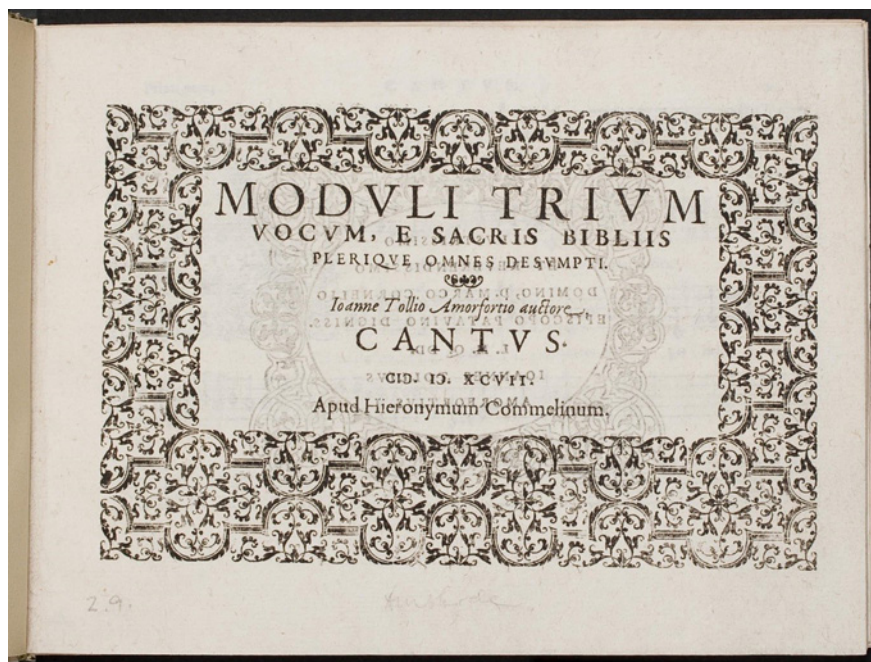


FIGURE 12.2 *Title page of Jan Tollius's Moduli trium vocum, e sacris bibliis plerique omnes desumpti (Commelin, 1597). Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: 62.1 Musica*



FIGURE 12.3 Title page of Jan Tollius's *Madrigali a sei voci* (Commelin, 1597). Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: 6o.1 Musica

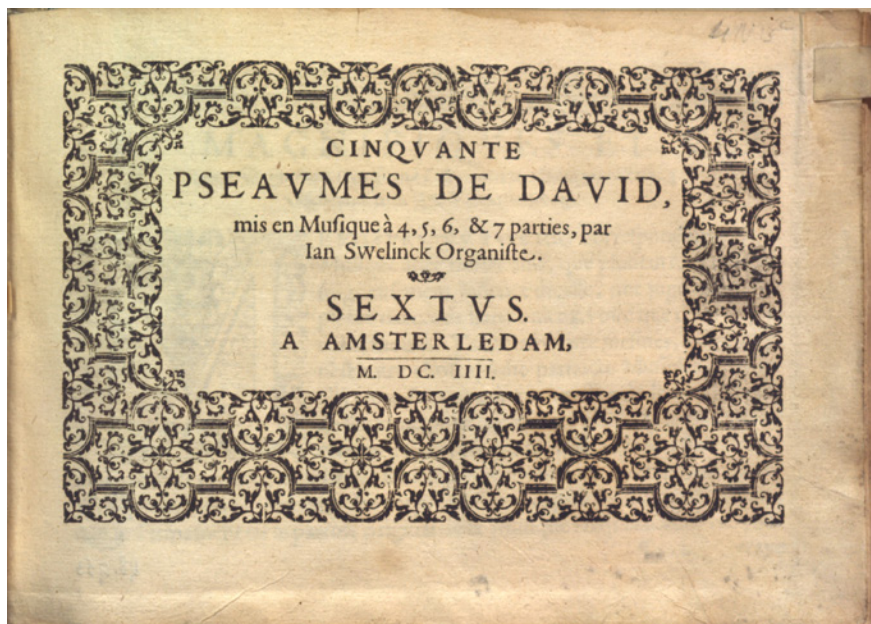


FIGURE 12.4 Title page of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's *Cinquante pseumes de David* (Commelin, 1604). Nederlands Muziek Instituut: Kluis C 10

Within the music history of Heidelberg, these four publications are significant, as they were the only partbooks published in Heidelberg in the whole of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth centuries. As such, they represent the first and only attempts to issue multi-part vocal music there. Aside from 15 editions of hymnbooks, the only other music printed in Heidelberg consisted of two lute tablature books, published by Commelin's successor as *typis principis*, Gotthard Vögelin in 1598 and 1600.¹²

Easy access to the Frankfurt book fair and relative proximity to Strasbourg and Nuremberg with their established music printers could potentially explain why Heidelberg's printers produced so little music.¹³ Yet Commelin's publications were distinct compared to other German partbook editions as well as the firms that created them. Presses in other German university cities, such as Tübingen, Jena or Ingolstadt, typically printed German- or Latin-texted polyphonic music, not French and Italian music as Commelin had done. Indeed, not only was there no French- or Italian-texted music printed in these university cities in the sixteenth century – tending instead to be printed either in Frankfurt or, above all, Nuremberg – but conversely Commelin himself did not print any German-texted music while in Heidelberg.

Despite, or perhaps because of, their uniqueness, Commelin's four music titles have yet to be examined as a complete set of sources in any depth. In his bibliographical study of the Commelin firm, Wilhelm Port included the partbooks in his reconstruction of the firm's catalogue, albeit without the 1604 psalm collection by Sweelinck, but did not discuss the music books in detail. Musicologists have studied the titles more closely, but have tended to examine the books individually and have focused primarily on what the books reveal about the individual composers' biographies, rather than Commelin's activities as a printer and publisher of music.¹⁴ This essay therefore seeks to fill these

12 Matthias Reymann, *Noctes Musicae* (Heidelberg, 1598), RISM A/1 R 1230; and Johann Rude, *Flores Musicae* (Heidelberg, 1600), RISM B/I 1600⁶.

13 On Nuremberg music printers, see Susan Jackson, 'Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg' (unpublished Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1998); an overview of music printing in Strasbourg can be found in William Young, 'Music Printing in Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 24 (1971), pp. 486–501.

14 On Tollius, see Ole Kongsted (ed.), *Motetter af C. Trehou, J. Tollius og V. Bertholusius* (Copenhagen, Engstrøm & Sødning, 1988), pp. ix–xiv; Frits Noske, 'Johannes Tollius, ein niederländischer Meister des Frühbarock', *International Musicological Society: Congress Report VII: Cologne 1958* (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1959), pp. 203–207. On Sweelinck, see Rudolf Rasch, 'Sweelinck's Place in the Musical History of the Dutch Republic', in Pieter Dirksen (ed.), *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the International Sweelinck Symposium, Utrecht 1999* (Utrecht, STIMU, 2002), esp. 3–25; Frits Noske, *Sweelinck* (Oxford, Oxford University

scholarly gaps, which have relevance for historians of the book as well as musicologists. Firstly, examining the four partbook volumes together for the first time sheds fresh light on the publishing strategies and international networks of a southwest German firm specialising in learned books. But, using newly discovered and heretofore undiscussed archival and printed sources, this essay also traces specific instances of these partbooks circulating after initial purchase and achieving an unusually wide circulation within German Calvinist markets as well as across confessional and linguistic borders.

Music, Networks and Confession

Examining the title page and paratextual material of Commelin's music books reveals several commonalities. Firstly, it has thus far escaped scholarly notice that the three 1597 volumes feature an identical decorative border on their title pages. The 1604 Sweelinck volume features the same border, but adorned with a small flowered decoration on its inside corners. Also, three of the four titles have the same dedicatee – the Collegium Musicum of Amsterdam. Little is known of this group of amateur musicians; indeed, these dedications are the only primary evidence we have for their existence.¹⁵ But if it was similar to other northern European collegia musica groups of this time, it consisted either of students or of educated middle-class amateurs, or both, who gathered regularly to sing sacred and secular vocal music or, increasingly after 1600, to perform instrumental music.¹⁶

One further similarity between all four titles is that they were printed with the same music typeface. However, considerable scholarly confusion surrounds the place where the books were actually printed. Laurent Guillo suggests this typeface was unique to the Genevan firm of Jean II de Tournes, concluding therefore that Commelin engaged de Tournes to print the four

Press, 1988). Goulart's anthology is discussed in Richard Freedman, 'Listening to the Psalms among the Huguenots: Simon Goulart as Music Editor', in Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (eds.), *Psalms in the Early Modern World* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), pp. 37–60.

15 Kristine Forney, 'The Netherlands, 1520–1640', in James Haar (ed.), *European Music: 1520–1640* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2006), p. 279.

16 Increasingly, instrumental music became more popular than vocal music with collegia musica in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Emil Platen and Iain Fenlon, 'Collegium musicum', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 20, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40623>.

publications in Table 12.1.¹⁷ By contrast, Donald Krummel argues that the face was prepared by Hendrik Van den Keere for use by the Plantin firm in Antwerp, not Geneva.¹⁸

It is possible that Van den Keere distributed the same typeface, either in the form of matrices or the actual type, to printers in Antwerp and Geneva, meaning that Jean II de Tournes and Plantin could have produced music books with typefaces from the same mould. And as Krummel observes, this practice occurred regularly with music typefaces as early as the 1540s.¹⁹ It is certainly possible that Jean II de Tournes printed these four books for the Commelin firm, as Laurent Guillo concludes. However, one unconsidered possibility is that the Commelin firm in Heidelberg engaged the Leiden office of the Plantin firm, to whom the typeface belonged, to print his music books. Possible evidence for this scenario is the liquidation inventory from the Leiden office, created in 1619, which lists a copy of the Sweelinck partbooks along with books known to be printed by the Plantin firm.²⁰ Alternatively, the Leiden office could have lent the typeface to Jerome Commelin's uncle, Jan Commelin, who then might have printed all the partbooks in his shop in Amsterdam or Leiden. Indeed, Jerome Commelin had other books published in Leiden.²¹ And as Susan Bain points out, Franciscus II Raphelengius (1568–1643), who led the Leiden branch until its dissolution in 1619, is known to have lent his music typeface to other nearby printers.²² This would explain the appearance of Amsterdam on the title page of the Sweelinck volume of 1604.

Confusion over the location of printing has led Richard Freedman to conclude of the 1597 Goulart anthology that scholars should “not take too literally either

17 Laurent Guillo, *Les éditions musicales de la Renaissance lyonnaise* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1991), pp. 459–460.

18 Donald Krummel, ‘Early German Partbook Type Faces’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 60 (1985), p. 95.

19 Krummel, ‘Type Faces’, p. 80. While Commelin could have received the same typeface from Van den Keere, the appearance of the words ‘apud’ and ‘appresso’ on the title pages of Tollius’s volumes suggests he served as a publisher and seller of the books. However, Ian Maclean rightly suggests that printers also used these terms to leave the financier of the book ambiguous. Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: the Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 129.

20 The musical items in the inventory are transcribed in Rudolf Rasch, ‘Noord-Nederlandse muziekuitgaven met de Plantijnse notentypen’, *De Gulden Passer*, 51 (1973), pp. 9–18.

21 For instance, Johann Post, *Parerga poeticarum adoptivis* (Leiden, Hieronymus Commelinis, 1595).

22 Susan E. Bain, ‘Music Printing in the Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century’ (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1974), pp. 135–136. I am thankful to Louisa Hunter-Bradley for making me aware of this fact.

the dedication (to an unnamed group of music lovers in Amsterdam) or the facts of publication (Heidelberg, by Jerome Commelin)".²³ Freedman, on the one hand, is justified in showing caution concerning potentially false or misleading information contained on a printed title page around 1600. As Ian Maclean has recently written, altering information on a title page was a way of intentionally "disclosing collaboration, or of dressing the title page with the right confessional hue".²⁴ Title pages, in other words, sometimes served to create a right impression rather than necessarily to convey correct information. On the other hand, questioning all the details outright is to miss a crucial point in the case of Commelin. Freedman not only downplays the importance of Commelin's role as publisher, as opposed to whoever might have performed the physical act of printing, but, perhaps more importantly, he also overlooks that these four books, regardless of where they were actually printed, were the product of Commelin's international network of composers, editors, printers, publishers and consumers stretching from Geneva to Leiden, with Heidelberg sitting mid-way between.

Moreover, Commelin's music books show many signs that he desired them to circulate across linguistic and confessional borders. To begin with, none of the title pages were written in German or edited for a German audience, as was typical of Italian music north of the Alps.²⁵ Instead, the language seen on the title page – typically a book's most potent means of advertising – matches that of the music's text. The volumes of French-texted psalms by Goulart and Sweelinck, for instance, have title pages and prefaces in French, while the title pages of Tollius's collections of Latin motets and Italian madrigals are in Latin and Italian, respectively.

The genres contained in the four publications themselves, furthermore, had great trans-confessional appeal. Latin-texted motets, like those in Tollius's *Moduli trium vocum*, were sung by Lutherans, Catholics and Calvinists alike, especially in schools where the pupils learned Latin.²⁶ Regarding Tollius's book of madrigals, vocal music with Italian text or composed in madrigal style, with its through-composed rather than stanza structure, was popular with amateur and professional musicians in both Protestant and Catholic areas. *Musica transalpina* (London, 1588), for instance, was a collection of Italian madrigals fitted with English words, published "in favour of such as take pleasure in

23 Freedman, 'Listening to the Psalms', p. 39.

24 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 129.

25 Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007), pp. 20–21.

26 Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 133–147.

Musick of voices". Likewise, Susan Lewis Hammond has examined the extensive activities of music editors in German lands in adapting Italian music for a Lutheran market, found in anthologies such as Friedrich Lindner's three-volume *Gemma Musicalis* (Nuremberg, 1588–1590).²⁷

Even the confessionally charged Genevan psalm repertory circulated deeply into Catholic and Lutheran areas. Matthias Reymann's intabulations of the Genevan psalter for the lute, *Cythara Sacra* (1613), was published by Gerhard Grevenbroich in Catholic Cologne.²⁸ In Italy, the music library of Francesco Scudieri, a music teacher to German students in Padua, included Genevan psalms among its 23 music volumes, catalogued as "four books of French Psalms in music, new, bound in red leather with gold leaf".²⁹ In Lutheran Germany, confessional antagonism was often aimed more strongly at Calvinists than Catholics. Nevertheless, Genevan psalm tunes, sometimes disguised as *Niederlandisch*, circulated in Lutheran devotional literature intended for regular use in churches and in the *Hauskirchen*.³⁰ Hence, French-texted Genevan psalms such as Commelin's two volumes, while recognisably Calvinist, nevertheless found a reception among distinctly non-Calvinist audiences.

For Commelin, omitting or altering the imprint could thus aid in circumventing confessional authorities and circulating these music books undetected into opposing, and potentially hostile, areas. Indeed, Ian Maclean points out that disguising a book's Reformed origin in order to reach the Catholic market was an especially common strategy for Heidelberg printers.³¹ Bookseller Jean Mareschal often listed his native Lyon on title pages rather than Heidelberg. Gotthard Vögelin often omitted Heidelberg from title pages, and the case of Martin Crusius's commentary on Homer "even suggests an Italian connection by contriving to include on the title page the name of a scholar of Bolognese origin", who had a Homer concordance published in Rome.³² Such instances, Maclean concludes, "indicate how important an international sale was to the

27 Hammond, *Editing Music*, pp. 45–76.

28 The presence of the publisher's name minimises – though does not rule out – the possibility of Cologne being a false imprint.

29 "Quatro libri de salmi franzesi in musica novi ligati in corame rosso con fogliette d'oro". The inventory is transcribed in Giulio M. Ongaro, 'The Library of a Sixteenth-Century Music Teacher', *Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), p. 375.

30 Stephen Rose, "'Haus Kirchen Cantorei': Lutheran Domestic Devotional Music in the Age of Confessionalisation', in Norbert Haag, Michael Fischer and Gabriele Haug-Moritz (eds.), *Musik in neuzeitlichen Konfessionskulturen (16.–19. Jahrhundert): Räume-Medien-Funktionen* (Ostfildern, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014), pp. 119–121.

31 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, p. 43.

32 Ibid., p. 129.

publisher in question”.³³ Applying Maclean’s observations to Commelin’s printed music, the choice of an Italian bishop, Marcus Cornelius, and an amateur music society in the Dutch Republic as dedicatees might be interpreted not merely as an acknowledgement of financial backing, but as a means of giving the books the right ‘hue’ or ‘complexion’ (to use Maclean’s terms) and ensuring their success outside German lands.

In this way, Commelin fits uneasily within the current understanding of the German music trade. While German collectors of printed music often had great interest in foreign music, international markets had comparatively little interest either in music printed in German areas or music with German texts. Citing the lack of compositions by Ludwig Senfl (perhaps one of the best-known German composers of the sixteenth century) in any printed edition outside German lands before 1600, John Kmetz therefore concludes that “German music publishers went to market with only one market in mind, and that market was a German-speaking one”.³⁴ Admittedly, Kmetz perhaps overstates his case, but musicologists have long acknowledged that the flow of foreign printed music into German areas was not matched by a comparable flow of German prints abroad.³⁵

The following case studies from the Commelin firm challenge this understanding, and support the notion that the international nature of Calvinism opened up trans-national markets to Commelin that other German music publishers accessed only with greater difficulty. The international nature of Commelin’s market in Calvinist Heidelberg, consisting largely of students, created an unusually high demand for a cosmopolitan repertory for recreational music-making. The essay then examines the circulation of Commelin’s music books after initial purchase. It suggests that the ‘complexion’ Commelin gave the books indeed helped them to circulate across confessional as well as national borders, finding their way into collections consisting primarily of books printed in Italy rather than Germany and orientated heavily towards Italian and Catholic music.

Selling Foreign Music in Calvinist Heidelberg

When Commelin moved his shop from Geneva to Heidelberg in 1587, he was returning to familiar surroundings. Commelin had matriculated as a student at the university in Heidelberg in 1569, an act which he repeated in 1585 upon

33 Ibid.

34 John Kmetz, ‘250 Years of German Music Printing (c.1500–1750): A Case for a Closed Market’, in Birgit Lodes (ed.), *Niveau, Nische, Nimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen* (Tutzing, Schneider, 2010), p. 170.

35 Ongaro, ‘Library of a Sixteenth-Century Music Teacher’, p. 367.

accepting the position as *typis principis*.³⁶ Although not a student, matriculating as *typis principis* placed Commelin under the legal jurisdiction of the university rather than the city council or court marshal and gave him greater freedom of movement throughout the Empire.³⁷ Census records from the year 1588 indicate that Commelin's shop was initially located on the market square, before he re-located in 1592 to university-owned buildings in the *Judengasse* opposite the Faculty of Arts and the lecture hall of the Faculties of Law and Medicine (formerly the Marienkapelle).³⁸

The Heidelberg to which Commelin returned was also a musically active city, especially its younger generation. Applying for one of the 40 places at the Paedagogium (the preparatory school of the Arts Faculty) involved an examination in music, one of the first recorded instances of such a practice in early modern Germany.³⁹ University students were given time – and indeed were expected – to perform music on a daily basis. Students lodging in the Collegium Sapientiae sang in German and in Latin before and after meals, and were given one hour in the evening for musical recreation.⁴⁰ Moreover, visitation records to the Contubernium (the university's residential college for poor students) reveal that the sounds of illicit singing and musical instruments filled the streets during night time hours – sounds to which Commelin as a resident of the university district was doubtless accustomed.⁴¹

As research has increasingly shown, students – German and foreign alike – were an important market for printed music in the sixteenth century. John Kmetz argues that purchasers of music prints in sixteenth-century Basel were primarily students and music teachers, as together they constituted the small fraction of society which could both read musical notation and afford luxury

36 For unknown reasons, there was a two year gap between matriculating and setting up his shop. Port, *Commelinus*, p. 7.

37 For Heidelberg legal structures, see Marco Neumeier, 'The Epitome of a *Residenzstadt*: Heidelberg at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century', in Sara Smart and Mara E. Wade (eds.), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2013), pp. 435.

38 Port, *Commelinus*, pp. 11 and 14.

39 Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis* (Heidelberg, Reichard, 1846), p. 126. Examination in music began at the Thomasschule in Leipzig only in 1634. See *Des Rats zu Leipzig Vernewerte Schul-Ordnung* (Leipzig, 1634), sig. C4r.

40 Hermann Hagen (ed.), *Briefe von Heidelberger Professoren und Studenten verfasst vor dreihundert Jahren* (Bern, Collin, 1886), p. 66.

41 Gerhard Merkel (ed.), *Protocollum Contubernii: Visitation und Rechnungsprüfung von 1568 bis 1615* (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 2001), pp. 54, 59 and 63.



FIGURE 12.5 Musica, Crispijn de Passe, engraving from *Academia sive Speculum Vitae Scolasticae* (1612).

items like music books.⁴² That students were a primary market for printed music books is furthermore supported by iconographical evidence. In an engraving by Crispijn de Passe, shown in Figure 12.5, university students in Calvinist Leiden were depicted playing the keyboard, stringed instruments and singing from music books during their allotted time for musical recreation.

Reflecting the trans-national nature of Calvinism discussed above, the diversity of Heidelberg's student population gave Commelin a particularly fertile local market in which to sell foreign music. Claus-Peter Clasen has found Heidelberg's foreign student population was unusually high, totalling 30 to 40 per cent of yearly matriculations, a staggering percentage compared to Tübingen's foreign matriculation of two per cent.⁴³ While the total percentage of foreign students remained relatively constant until the Thirty Years' War, the nationalities represented among these foreigners changed considerably. In the

42 Kmetz, '250 Years of German Music Printing', pp. 180–183.

43 Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1966), p. 37.

1570s almost half of the foreign students were French or Walloon. But after 1590 the number of French-speaking students gradually declined, with roughly 35 per cent of foreign students travelling from Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary, despite Heidelberg's considerable distance from Eastern Europe.⁴⁴

Commelin's volumes of French psalms had a natural market with Francophone students – not to mention a congregation of French exiles – who desired polyphonic music in their own language.⁴⁵ Regarding Tollius's *Moduli trium vocum*, the majority of Heidelberg students would have had considerable experience singing Latin motets, which were a staple of the German Latin school curriculum across the confessional divide. Latin, moreover, was the language of university life well into the eighteenth century, and numerous sources reveal that both Calvinist and Lutheran students in Heidelberg's schools and university sang Latin-texted music on a daily basis.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Hungarian students often built their personal libraries during their years in Heidelberg because of the relative difficulty of procuring books once they returned to Eastern Europe; Commelin's volumes thus provided an expedient means of purchasing a wide variety of music from Western Europe.⁴⁷

However, the diverse repertory printed by Commelin would also have appealed strongly to German students. The lesson register of a private music teacher in Basel reveals that, at the teacher's behest, Protestant pupils studied the compositions of the most respected composers, regardless of a given composer's own confessional affiliation or the liturgical character of his music.⁴⁸ Consequently, German pupils were often familiar with a particularly wide-ranging and cosmopolitan repertory that, paradoxically, might have run contrary to the musical reforms of his own locale. For Calvinist students in Heidelberg, Commelin's choice to include the name Orlando di Lasso on the

44 Ibid., pp. 37–38.

45 On exile communities, see Gerhard Kaller, 'Wallonische und Niederländische Exultantensiedlungen in der Pfalz im 16. Jahrhundert. Entstehung und Stadthebung', *Oberrheinische Studien*, 3 (1975), pp. 327–352; Kaller, 'Die Anfänge der kurpfälzischen Exultantengemeinden Frankenthal, Schönau, Heidelberg und Otterberg (1562–1590)', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 147 (1999), pp. 393–403.

46 Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, p. 131.

47 János Heltai, 'Die Heidelberger Peregrination calvinistischer Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, 1597–1621', in Márta Fata, Gyula Kurucz and Anton Schindling (eds.), *Peregrinatio Hungarica: Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), p. 74.

48 John Kmetz, 'The Piperinus – Amerbach Partbooks: Six Months of Music Lessons in Renaissance Basle', in John Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 234.

title page of the 1597 Goulart anthology, as well as the phrase “by various excellent musicians of our time”, could therefore have been particularly meaningful to students who had studied and been taught to appreciate the compositions of the foremost composers of their day.⁴⁹

A 1599 catalogue of the Commelin firm entitled *Catalogvs librorum qvos vel excudit Commelinvs, vel qvorvm exemplaria ad se recepit, accedunt Libri Mss. e Bibliotheca eius* listed all of the books in Jerome Commelin's print catalogue as well as his library of manuscripts and books he had received via other means, such as exchanging books with other printers (*Tauschhandel*) at the Frankfurt fair.⁵⁰ Previously unknown to musicologists, it reveals that Jerome Commelin's heirs continued to print his three 1597 music editions (the 1604 Sweelinck psalm collection not having yet been published) until at least 1599, and made them available in their shop in the university district for purchase.

Unfortunately, because Heidelberg was overrun by French military forces in 1622 and 1693, few records of book ownership from around 1600 still exist; hence, evidence of Commelin's music volumes being owned by Heidelbergers is lost to the mists of time. Nevertheless one source, as yet largely unknown to scholars, both confirms the reception of Commelin's prints among students and casts new light on the musical activities of Heidelberg students: a library catalogue from 1620 of Heidelberg's Calvinist seminary, the Collegium Sapientiae.⁵¹ Housed with the seminary in the former Augustinian cloister, the library owned two music books among its roughly 1,000 titles of manuscripts and printed books. The first was Sweelinck's *Cinqvante pseumes de David* (1604) published by the Commelin firm; the second title was a book of Italian canzoni, catalogued as 'Johannis Ferretti Cationum Neapolitanarum partes sex. Venetiis. 1574'.⁵² The volume indicated is possibly Ferretti's *Il primo libro delle canzoni alla napolitana* (Venice, 1573), in which case the Heidelberg cataloguers mistakenly wrote 1574, but correctly indicated six partbooks.⁵³ Alternatively, if the seminary owned *Il primo libro delle canzoni alla napolitana a cinque voci, Nouamente ristampate* (Venice, 1574), the year is correct but the number of partbooks is incorrect.⁵⁴

49 “par diuers excellents Musiciens de nostre temps”.

50 “Catalogue of books which Commelinus either printed, or copies which he received; added are the manuscripts from his library”.

51 General Landesarchiv Karlsruhe, 205/74.

52 Canzoni are secular Italian song with a strophic structure.

53 RISM A/1 F 531.

54 RISM A/1 F 515.

Regardless of which book of Ferretti's canzoni it was, the two books owned by the Collegium Sapientiae represent two musical extremes. On the one hand, Sweelinck's volume of psalms would have satisfied Calvin's instruction to sing polyphonic psalms domestically and convivially. To Calvin, entertaining oneself in the home with musical settings of scripture was both edifying and pleasurable.⁵⁵ On the other hand, owning a book of secular vocal music containing sensual Italian love poetry ran profoundly contrary to what reformers like Calvin and Martin Bucer advised their parishioners to sing, especially the young. In the preface to the Strasbourg *Gesangbuch* of 1541, for instance, Bucer insisted that all "devilish, seductive songs" should be replaced with sacred song, so that "absolutely no song and no instrumentalizing may be sung and used except by and for Christian spiritual activities".⁵⁶

To be sure, the majority of texts set by Ferretti in his 1574 edition of five-voiced canzoni have worldly and even sensual themes, clearly visible even within the initial lines of the text. For instance, one of Ferretti's texts reads:

Lovely young maid, my soul,
your beauty kills me
but I hope to have some comfort from you.⁵⁷

While not explicit, Ferretti's text clearly implies comfort of a carnal rather than platonic nature that would obviously have contravened not only biblical mandates for sexual purity but also university regulations.⁵⁸

Given the small number of music books owned by the Collegium Sapientiae, the presence of Ferretti's volume might have gone unnoticed to regular users of the library. However, it is significant that Commelin's publication of Tollius's Italian madrigals presented these same illicit themes, paradoxically, with increased intensity. Tollius's madrigal 'Tra le dolcezze e l'ire', for instance also takes a young maid (*Giovinetta*) as the subject, but paints a far more sensual picture through the juxtaposition of polar opposite physical and emotional states.

55 Charles Garside, 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536–1543', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 69 (1979), pp. 1–36.

56 Translated take from *Ibid.*, p. 30.

57 "Leggiadra giovinetta l'anima mia, Per la vostra beltà m' havete morto, Ma sper' hauer da voi qualche conforto". I am thankful to Amparo Fontaine, Giovanni Varelli and Carlo Cenciarelli for their assistance with translating the Italian texts in this chapter.

58 Eduard Winkelmann (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1886), pp. 107–108.

Among sweet things and anger,
 joy and martyrdom
 the young maid, Clori, burns in ice,
 she freezes in burning flames.
 She feels the pain and delectation of her dear Aminta caught by love,
 languishes, sweetly sighs and lives and dies.⁵⁹

Such sensual poetry about a young woman – while doubtless attractive to male students who, according to Fynes Moryson on his travels through Germany, had a propensity for engaging in illicit sexual activity – conjured the very imagery that Bucer and Calvin sought to limit among the youth.⁶⁰ Equally significant, Tollius's madrigal volume shows little sign of concern on the part of Commelin or the university censors to rid the music of its secular text. This fact stands in direct contrast to one of Commelin's other music publications, namely Simon Goulart's 1597 anthology, which according to Richard Freedman confirms that Calvinists had an interest in secular musical compositions, but only after the replacement of a secular for a psalm text made them more confessionally suitable. No such editing appears to have taken place in Tollius's madrigal volume. Based on matriculation records, it is unlikely that many students, or even the university censors, in Heidelberg spoke Italian with any fluency.⁶¹ Nevertheless, Commelin's volumes reveal that the Calvinist market for music was potentially more cosmopolitan than heretofore believed, encompassing vocal music specifically edited to include the archetypally Calvinist Genevan psalms as well as containing worldly texts in Italian.

International Circulation of Commelin's Music

However receptive his local market might have been, Commelin would always have had his eyes fixed more closely on the international marketplace. Around

59 "Tra le dolcezze e l'ire, e la gioia e'l martire, la giovinetta Clori arde nel ghiaccio, agghiaccia nel ardore. Senta pena e diletto del caro Aminta suo preso d'amore, langue, dolce so spira e vive e more".

60 Fynes Moryson noted in the 1590s, that "nothings was more frequent at Witte[n]berg, then for Students to goe by night to Harlotts, and being druncke, to walke in the streets with naked swordes, slashing them against the stones, and making noyse with Clamours". Charles Hughes, *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (London, Sherratt & Hughes, 1903), pp. 315–316.

61 Matriculation records indicate the presence only ten Italian students between 1570 and 1615. Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History*, p. 38.

1600, the twice-yearly book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig were at their height, providing publishers with an effective means of publicising and distributing their printed music to buyers from around Europe. In Frankfurt, 39 new editions on average were advertised in each fair catalogue between 1611 and 1639; simultaneously, publishers often had large quantities of their back-stock ready to distribute to other dealers at the fairs.⁶² Indeed, Commelin's three 1597 music publications appeared in catalogues distributed ahead of the autumn book fair in Frankfurt that same year.⁶³ The absence of the Sweelinck volume from fair catalogues, to be sure, does not mean it was actually absent from the fair; the catalogues distributed before the Frankfurt fairs listed the titles expected to be present rather than an *ex post facto* account of the books actually available.

Commelin's participation in the international marketplace was not limited to book fairs, however, as the trans-national nature of Calvinism created markets for his music books that fell, in large part, outside German-speaking lands. The remainder of this chapter will present three heretofore undiscussed instances of where and among whom Commelin's music circulated after initial purchase. In these three examples, it is unknown how his books came into the hands of their owners, whether through acquisition at a book fair, purchase from the Commelin firm's shop, presentation from the composers or publisher, or through the second-hand book market. Nevertheless, they provide a counter-example to the belief mentioned earlier that German music publishers had only the German market in mind, for Commelin's music prints, marketed also to the international Calvinist market, clearly circulated both outside as well as inside German areas. These examples illustrate, furthermore, that the success of Commelin's music books was derived to some extent from the versatility of their musical contents, attracting purchasers ranging from private music students and interested amateur musicians to professional singers and instrumentalists, whose respective religious affiliations spanned the confessional spectrum.

Chronologically, the first trace of Commelin's volumes appears around 1597 or 1598 in the Lutheran city of Lüneburg, where Franciscus III von Witzendorff (b. 1578) copied the second section (*secunda pars*) of Jan Tollius's three-voiced motet 'Benedicta sit' (printed in the 1597 *Moduli trium vocum*) into his private

62 This was particularly the case with Heidelberg printer-publisher, Gotthard Vögelin, whose stock for the 1625 Frankfurt fair consisted of several hundred music books. Rose, 'Mechanisms of the Music Trade', p. 5.

63 Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Hilversum, F.A.M. Knuf, 1965), pp. 25 and 44.

music lesson book.⁶⁴ The son of a Lüneburg nobleman, Franciscus III received the manuscript lesson book in 1590 from his tutor, Johannes Velbonius, who had copied various compositions for his pupil to mark the commencement of music lessons; until at least 1597, Franciscus III continually added compositions to the manuscript as part of his musical education.

Before the advent of print, copying was necessary for the detailed transmission of music. But although print disseminated music with greater speed in the sixteenth century, copying nevertheless remained essential to learning the basics of music composition, counterpoint and theory. It enabled pupils to emulate the compositions of skilled composers, and thus to gain familiarity with compositional techniques such as texture, pacing and text-setting.⁶⁵ Thus, music teachers like Velbonius commonly bought printed books from which their pupils then copied. In the court of Pfalz-Neuburg, for instance, the tutor to the young Count Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg (1578–1653) purchased music books from the Augsburg bookseller, Hans Georg Portenbach, for music lessons, among which were two editions of Latin compositions by Orlando di Lasso and one by the Flemish composer, Alexander Utendal (1543/1545–1581).⁶⁶

Franciscus III's lesson book was divided into seven sections (*pars*), with the compositions grouped by language or function. The Septima pars, for instance, contained secular German song, while German hymns and psalms were found in the Quinta pars. Tollius's motet, which appears in the Tertia pars, is grouped with six other two- and three-part motets with Latin texts (often called *bicinia* and *tricinia*, respectively). Compared to music composed for four or more voices, the small number of voices in *bicinia* and *tricinia* made them particularly valuable for didactic use, clearly displaying to pupils, in private lessons as well as Latin schools, the elementary rules of proportion and harmony. Furthermore, in aristocratic settings such as Franciscus III's court, *bicinia* were especially popular as they could be sung with only a pupil and tutor. In courts where multiple princely tutees attended lessons together, as was the case in the Palatine court, *tricinia* could be sung as well.⁶⁷

64 Currently held in the Ratsbücherei in Lüneburg as KN 144.

65 Kmetz, 'The Piperinus – Amerbach Partbooks', pp. 215–234; Patrick Macey, 'Josquin as Classic: Qui habitat, Memor esto, and Two Imitations Unmasked', *Journal of the Royal Music Association*, 118 (1993), pp. 1–43.

66 Orlando di Lasso, *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales* (Munich, 1584, RISM A/1 L 952); Orlando di Lasso, *Cantica sacra* (Munich, 1585, possibly RISM A/1 L 961); Alexander Utendal, *7 psalmi poenitentiales* (Nuremberg, 1570, RISM A/1 U 119).

67 Friedrich Schmidt (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, vol. XIX, *Geschichte der Erziehung der pfälzischen Wittelsbacher* (Berlin, A. Hofmann, 1899), pp. 266–292.

This Lüneburg source is valuable for an investigation of Commelin, as it verifies the reception of Commelin's publications among Lutheran aristocrats. More significantly, by identifying the other compositions which Franciscus III transcribed from printed sources, it also reveals the books amongst which Commelin's volume circulated. Of the seven *bicinia* and *tricinia* Franciscus III copied, four have concordances with Friedrich Lindner's well-known 1591 anthology, *Bicinia Sacra*.⁶⁸ Printed in Nuremberg by Katharina Gerlach and dedicated to Nuremberg's city council, *Bicinia Sacra* grew out of Lindner's experience as Kantor at the Lutheran Latin school of the Egidienkirche in Nuremberg from 1574 to 1597. That Commelin's volume should stand next to Lindner's *Bicinia Sacra* underscores how, to a potential buyer, the usefulness of a book's contents could overshadow where it was published. But Franciscus III's lesson book also reveals how Commelin's publication was purchased and consumed alongside a book produced in Nuremberg, suggesting that Commelin, despite printing a small number of music editions, nonetheless desired to compete within German markets with larger and more established music publishers such as Katharina Gerlach.

In addition to crossing confessional boundaries, Commelin's music can also be seen crossing national boundaries, as a copy of Tollius's motet volume was included in the 1608 printed catalogue of the Utrecht city library.⁶⁹ Housed in the Janskerk, the city library initially consisted of the books confiscated from Utrecht's monastic libraries, and formed the basis of the university library in Utrecht at its founding in 1636.⁷⁰ The preface to the catalogue indicates that the primary intended users were not just students, but that it was open to "persons that have the intention to behave honestly, having the intention to increase it [the library] rather than to decrease it".⁷¹ In 1608, the city library held 5,700 titles and over 300 manuscripts. Of these 6,000 entries, 105 were printed music books. Tollius's motet volume was then catalogued with 26 other

68 Friedrich Lindner, *Bicinia Sacra* (Nuremberg, 1591), RISM B/I 1597²⁷. Concordances are *Cantate Domino canticum novum*, Orlando di Lasso; *Tota die exproabant*, Orlando di Lasso; *Amici mei et proximi mei*, Jacob Reiner; and *Eripe me Domine*, Jacob Handl. One *bicinia* copied is anonymous, and the other (*Jubilate Deo omnes*, composed by Jacob Handl) is not known to have circulated in print.

69 *Bibliothecae Trajectinae catalogus. Trajecti ad Rhenum. Typis Salomonis Rhodii* (Utrecht, 1608).

70 Koert Van Der Horst, *Illuminated and Decorated Medieval Manuscripts in the University Library, Utrecht: an Illustrated Catalogue* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. vii–viii.

71 "...die van voornemen zy getrouwicheyt te plegen/meer ghesint wesende de selue te vermeerderen al te verminderen". *Bibliothecae Trajectinae catalogus*, 3^r.

books of three-part vocal music. The majority of holdings in Utrecht were heavily orientated towards music published in Italy. Of the 27 titles of three-voiced music, 18 were from Italy, all of which had been published in Venice. Besides two books printed at locations in the Low Countries and two which came from Paris, five editions were published in German areas: three in Nuremberg, one in Frankfurt and Commelin's volume of Tollius motets from Heidelberg.⁷²

Unfortunately, how the music books came into the library's possession is unknown, as is who used these books. They could have entered the library through one of the substantial bequests made in 1599 and 1602, and could have found use by civic music organisations consisting of students, interested amateurs and professional musicians that preceded the formation of the Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum, founded in 1631.⁷³ Fortunately, the little extant information about the library's history and use does not obscure the fact that Commelin's volume was one of only five books published in German lands to appear in this collection outside the German *Sprachgebiet*, once again standing next to books printed in Nuremberg and Frankfurt. Moreover, we see Commelin's book in a library consisting primarily of music printed in Italy. While the Calvinist orientation of both Utrecht and Heidelberg could account for some of the appeal of Tollius's motets in the Dutch Republic, omitting the city in the book's imprint and dedicating the volume to an Italian Catholic bishop could also have attracted the attention of purchasers in the Dutch Republic who were interested in Italian music and unaware of the location of Commelin's firm. Building on Maclean's ideas discussed above, these strategies not only increased the likelihood of a Catholic sale, but gave a 'complexion' that attracted Protestants interested in Catholic music.

A similar picture is seen in the final example from the Dutch Republic: the 1617 auction catalogue of Leiden organist Cornelis Schuyt (1557–1616), which lists among its 104 total entries a copy of Sweelinck's 1604 volume of psalms and, once again, Tollius's motets of 1597.⁷⁴ From 1593 until his death, Schuyt was the organist at the Pieterkerk and the Hooglandse Kerk in Leiden. In this position Schuyt

72 Nuremberg: *Trium vocum cantiones centum* (Petreius, RISM B/I 1541²), Joachim Friedrich Fritzius, *Neue Geistliche Tricinia* (lost); Franz Joachim Brechtel, *Neue Kurtzweilige Teutsche Liedlein* (Gerlach, RISM A/1 B 4298). Frankfurt: *Cantiones selectissimae LXVIII zu Frankfurt* (unknown).

73 Forney, 'The Netherlands, 1520–1640', p. 279.

74 For a discussion of Schuyt's library, see Rudolf Rasch and Thiemo Wind, 'The Music Library of Cornelis Schuyt', in Albert Clement and Eric Jas (eds.), *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicum Willem Elders* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1994), pp. 327–354.

was responsible for training choirboys and possibly also leading the Leiden Collegium Musicum. In addition to his regular duties, musicologists Rudolf Rasch and Thiemo Wind have suggested that Schuyt also led music in services of underground Catholic communities in Leiden.⁷⁵ They base their theory, in large part, on the confessional preoccupations suggested by the primarily Catholic and Italian contents of Schuyt's music library, which surpassed the tendency for music teachers to possess a library containing a cosmopolitan musical repertory. Indeed, the books in Schuyt's library originated from a wide range of locations and contained numerous musical genres. In addition to owning Italian secular music, madrigals and canzoni, for instance, Schuyt possessed a large number of masses and motets intended for Catholic liturgical use.⁷⁶ And of the 67 quarto volumes, among which the two Commelin editions appear, 24 volumes were published in the Low Countries, 12 from the Plantin and Phalèse firms alone, while 23 came from Italy. Schuyt also owned a small number of books published in German cities – two each from Heidelberg, Nuremberg and Frankfurt, and one from Munich – containing secular and sacred music.⁷⁷

Schuyt's library once again reinforces how Commelin's music prints attracted the attention of a purchaser with distinctly Italian and Catholic tastes. And, like the Utrecht city library, volumes published by Commelin were some of the few German books owned by Schuyt. But compared to the Utrecht collection, Schuyt now owned as many music books published by Commelin as those in Nuremberg by Gerlach and Frankfurt by Nikolaus Stein, once again suggesting that Commelin, despite his minimal output of music in a small German university city, rivalled larger German firms in international markets.

Conclusion

The printed music trade around 1600 was both a local and a highly international phenomenon. Examining the Heidelberg firm of Jerome Commelin as a case study illustrates how music publishers considered the needs of their local

75 Rasch and Wind, 'Music Library of Cornelis Schuyt', p. 339; Christine Kooi has examined such Catholic congregations in Christine Kooi, 'Popish Impudence: The Perseverance of the Roman Catholic Faithful in Calvinist Holland, 1572–1620', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), pp. 75–85.

76 Rasch and Wind, 'Music Library of Cornelis Schuyt', p. 339.

77 Nuremberg: *Compendium Musices* (Berg and Neuber, 1552); *Canzonette a 4 voci, libro primo* (Gerlach, 1590, RISM A/1 H 2335). Frankfurt: *Primitiae musicales* (Stein, 1606, RISM A/1 F 2007); *Centum concertuum ecclesiasticorum* (Stein, 1609, RISM A/1 V 1394). Munich: *Lectiones sacrae novem* (Berg, 1582, RISM A/1 L 940).

market, while also targeting buyers outside their own linguistic, national and confessional milieu. It challenges the belief that German music publishers had primarily a German market in mind, as the repertory Commelin published, as well as the confessionally and geographically ambiguous yet attractive title pages he fashioned, indicate he envisioned his books appealing to a wide range of purchasers. Commelin's books were held in institutional libraries in Heidelberg and Utrecht, aided learning in German aristocratic circles, and came into the hands of a professional organist and music teacher with strong Catholic sympathies in Calvinist Leiden. As of yet, there is no evidence of Commelin's books circulating in Italy, although further work needs to be done to confirm this. Nevertheless, it is clear that they catered to amateur and professional markets north of the Alps that showed considerable interest in Italian music. At its core, this essay has examined not only how the international nature of Calvinism motivated Commelin to print a singular repertory compared to other German printers, but also how printed music books were themselves products of Commelin's international network of composers, editors, printers and publishers. Commelin published the work of composers and editors active in Geneva, Amsterdam and Italy; and, if he did not print the music books himself, printers in either the Dutch Republic or Geneva were engaged for the task. While maintaining an international network was doubtless difficult given the fragmented political and confessional landscape of Europe around 1600, it nevertheless enabled Commelin to occupy a unique place in the music trade.

Sellers and Buyers of Italian Music around 1700: The Silvani Firm and G.B. Bassani's Music in Italy and Central Europe

Huub van der Linden

The popularity and, consequently, the circulation of Italian music throughout Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are well-known and well-studied facts, but many of the details of exactly how, what, and via whom music circulated still remain to be investigated.¹ Although, for instance, the circulation of printed music is testified through surviving copies and early inventories, only relatively rarely do we have precise information on the distribution network through which these books disseminated from printer to buyer.² The problem in uncovering these 'mechanisms of the music trade' is compounded by many factors, including the scarcity of archival records documenting actual transactions, the often low numbers of surviving copies, and the sometimes rather succinct descriptions in early inventories.

This essay concerns the Italian and central-European dissemination of music printed by the Monti-Silvani firm in Bologna. By pulling together a diverse range of new and previously published sources, it tries to gain a more precise sense of how the firm's editions reached buyers in Italy as well as across the Alps into Switzerland, the Habsburg empire, and the German states. Giacomo Monti's firm in Bologna, the most productive music publisher in seventeenth-century Bologna, was continued from 1697 by his long-standing collaborator and business partner Marino Silvani (from 1667 most editions

1 See for example Reinhard Strohm (ed.), *The eighteenth-century diaspora of Italian music and musicians* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2001), and Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *The circulation of music in Europe 1600–1900: A collection of essays and case studies* (Berlin, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008).

2 See with regard to music in this period for example Rosamond McGuinness, 'External and internal factors in the circulation of music in London around 1700', in R. Rasch (ed.), *Circulation of music*, pp. 33–46; Claudio Bacciagaluppi, 'Edizioni musicali italiane in alcuni inventari storici svizzeri (1622–1761)', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 17 (2012), pp. 59–84; and, for the slightly earlier period, Stephen Rose, 'The mechanisms of the music trade in central Germany, 1600–40', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 130 (2005), pp. 1–37.

already had an imprint stating they were printed by Monti and sold in Silvani's shop).³ After Marino's death in 1710, his son Giuseppe Antonio eventually continued the business, not without some problems, until his death in 1726.⁴

The Monti-Silvani firm printed numerous editions of new repertoire that found their way to a national and international clientele, but they also had to compete with other printers in Europe who reprinted some of the same music.⁵ One of the most popular authors in their catalogue and a prime example of such international competition was Giovanni Battista Bassani. Born in Padua around 1650, he worked in Ferrara most of his active life, both as *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral and in various other positions, and died in Bergamo in 1716. During his lifetime no fewer than 32 opus numbers – comprising sonatas, cantatas, motets, and large-scale liturgical music – were published in first editions in Bologna by the Monti-Silvani firm and in Venice by Giuseppe Sala.⁶

Reprints of many of these editions were issued, often remarkably quickly, by printers across Europe: primarily Hendrick Aertssens III in Antwerp and Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, but also William Pearson in London reprinted two collections of Bassani's motets.⁷ One aria appeared in an anthology printed by Christophe Ballard in Paris in 1708, and, above all, a volume of Masses by

3 On Monti see Roberto Marchi's article in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (freely accessible at www.treccani.it/biografie) and Barbara Cipollone, 'I Monti e la stampa della musica a Bologna nel secondo Seicento', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 15 (2010), pp. 61–139.

4 Giulia Giovani, '“Un capitale vivo e morto ad uso di stamparia”: Nuovi documenti sull'editoria musicale bolognese del Seicento', *Miscellanea Ruspoli*, 1 (2011), pp. 7–76, as well as my 'Early eighteenth-century music type for the printer Giuseppe Antonio Silvani: Correspondence and other documents', *Tipofilologia*, 5 (2012), pp. 27–66, and 'Profit, patronage, and the cultural politics of music printing in eighteenth-century Italy: The family and finances of Giuseppe Antonio Silvani', Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist markets in the early modern book world* (Leiden, Brill, 2014), pp. 351–369.

5 See on Roger's competition with the main English publisher at the time Rudolf Rasch, 'Estienne Roger and John Walsh: Patterns of competition between early-18th-century Dutch and English music publishing', in Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (eds.), *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800)* (Hilversum, Verloren, 1995), pp. 396–407.

6 For a useful but partly superseded account of his life and works see Richard Haselbach, *Giovanni Battista Bassani: Werkkatalog, Biographie und künstlerische Würdigung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der konzertierenden kirchlichen Vokalmusik* (Kassel and Basel, Bärenreiter, 1954).

7 On Aertssens see Godelieve Spiessens, 'Muziektypografische bedrijvigheid van de Antwerpse drukker Hendrik III Aertssens (1661–1741)', in J. Hanselaer and H. Meeus (eds.), *E codicibus impressisque: Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx* (Leuven, Peeters,

Bassani that as far as we know was not preceded by an Italian edition was published in Augsburg in 1709 by Johann Christoph Wagner as *Acroama missale*.⁸ In fact, few other Italian composers of his generation except Corelli seem to have enjoyed a similar popularity across Europe. The French composer and theorist Sébastien de Brossard and the music historian Charles Burney both praised his music already during and shortly after his lifetime, and Wagner's edition of his Masses described him therefore not without justification as "*famigeratissim[us]*".

The Italian Network

Bologna's location as a hub on the main routes connecting Rome and southern Italy with the northern part of the peninsula placed printers in Bologna, at least in theory, at a geographically advantageous location for the distribution of their output in both those directions. Some indirect evidence for this are the Bolognese editions that survive in church and monastic archives, or other copies with early provenance notes. Luckily, however, although it is no less fragmentary in nature, we also have some more explicit information on the Monti-Silvani firm's Italian trade network.

One glimpse of Giuseppe Silvani's contacts appears from a notarial document from 1716: an authenticated copy of a letter received by the Silvani firm from Tolomeo Caifabri, a bookseller in Rome (transcribed as doc. 1).⁹ Without much ado, the short letter dated 23 March 1715 presented an order for copies of 20 different editions printed by Marino Silvani and his heirs between 1697 and 1712, and by Piermaria Monti in the 1690s. Caifabri urged the Silvani brothers to send him clean copies, citing a ruined copy of Giovanni Maria Bononcini's *Musico pratico* – probably referring to the second edition printed in 1688 – which he had been sent on an earlier occasion as the reason for specifically

2004), vol. 2, pp. 539–569, and on Roger, Rudolf Rasch, 'Estienne Roger en Michel-Charles le Cène: Europese muziekuitgevers te Amsterdam, 1696–1743', *Holland*, 16 (1994), pp. 292–313.

8 *Receuil d'airs sérieux et à boire* (Paris, Ballard, 1708); *Acroama missale complexu suo continens quatuor voces in concerto et quatuor in ripieno...meditatum et compositum à famigeratissimo autore italico Joanne Baptista Bassani* (Augsburg, Wagner, 1709).

9 On the older Caifabri see the little information in Saverio Franchi, *Le impressioni sceniche: Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800* (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1994), p. 299, and Patrizio Barbieri, 'Musica, tipografi e librai a Roma: Tecnologie di stampa e integrazioni biografiche, 1583–1833', *Recercare*, 7 (1995), pp. 47–85: 71.

raising this issue. He also wrote that if Silvani required “other works by Giuseppe Valentini”, the Roman violinist-composer, he would be happy to send these to him.¹⁰

The damaged copy of Bononcini’s treatise sent previously, the use of the word “other”, and the evidently routine character of the order all show that the two men had previously already delivered books to each other, quite possibly on a regular basis. The fact that Caifabri singled out Valentini suggests that he knew of, or at least had reason to suspect, a particular interest in his music in Bologna. Valentini’s works had been published in Rome, and the fact that Caifabri provided Silvani with these editions suggests the Bolognese printer was not in direct contact with the printer himself.

Similarly, the works Caifabri ordered provide an idea of what his customers were looking for. Besides liturgical music – including two copies each of Lamentation settings by Giovanni Paolo Colonna and Ippolito Ghezzi, doubtless requested with an eye to the upcoming Holy Week – he also ordered some editions of secular cantatas as well as instrumental works by Corelli. Although Caifabri wrote to Silvani presumably for his reprints of Corelli’s opus 1 (1704), opus 2 (1701), and opus 4 (1704), it is noteworthy that Sala had reprinted all three works a few years later – opus 1 in 1707, opus 2 in 1705, and opus 4 in 1710. It is thus possible that Silvani sold Sala’s editions, just as Sala sold some of Silvani’s. In any case, the fact that Caifabri wrote to Bologna for these works suggests that the earlier Roman editions of Corelli’s works were no longer available there.¹¹ Bassani, however, is the composer of which Caifabri ordered the most different works. His order listed 1 copy each of the *Salmi concertati*, opus 21 (Silvani, 1699), the *Salmi per tutto l’anno*, opus 30 (Silvani, 1704), the *Messe concertate* opus 32 (Silvani, 1710), the *Motetti sacri à voce sola*, opus 27 (Silvani, 1707), as well as of *La musa armonica: Cantate amorose musicali*, opus 16 (Monti, 1695) and the *Languidezze amoroze: Cantate a voce sola*, opus 19 (Silvani, 1698), along with two copies of the *Concerti sacri*, opus 11 (Silvani, 1697).¹²

10 For a catalogue of Valentini’s work see Enrico Careri, ‘Per un catalogo tematico delle opere di Giuseppe Valentini (1681–1753)’, *Studi musicali*, 14 (1995), pp. 63–85.

11 For early editions of these works see Arcangelo Corelli, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, vol. 1: *Sonate da chiesa, Opus I und III, mit Francesco Geminiani’s Concerto grosso-Bearbeitungen von sechs Sonate aus Opus I und III*, ed. Max Lütolf (Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 1987), pp. 202–206, and idem, vol. 2: *Sonate da Camera, Opus II und IV*, ed. Jürg Stenzl (Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 1986), pp. 141–145, 151–154.

12 Here and throughout this chapter I give the date of the latest edition available at the time.

Although most of the books ordered by Caifabri must have been for the local Roman market, he and other booksellers in Rome may also have acted as intermediaries for buyers farther south. Although we do not know through which channels it acquired them, it is noteworthy, for instance, that the music collection of the Cathedral of Mdina in Malta included many Bolognese and other north-Italian editions, including Bassani's *Concerti sacri* in its 1692 first edition printed by Monti, and the *Armonici entusiasmi*, opus 9 printed in Venice by Sala in 1690.¹³

Information from the same period regarding Silvani's contacts with northern Italy is more fragmentary still. It seems that the Monti-Silvani firm had some kind of collaboration with the music printer Giuseppe Sala in Venice.¹⁴ A printed catalogue issued by Sala in 1715 explicitly included "musical works printed in Bologna", among which featured Bassani's *Motetti sacri a voce sola* opus 27, and possibly the cantatas opus 28 of which no copies survive. Another clue is the fact that when a year later a Venetian typefounder wrote to Giuseppe Silvani to claim an outstanding debt of 23 *lire* incurred by his father, he responded to Silvani's objection that too much time had passed: "remember that three years ago I wrote about it via the hand of sig.^r Sala".¹⁵

There may also have been a collaboration of sorts with the printer Giovanni Parone in Trent.¹⁶ An edition of Francesco Bonporti's *Invenzioni a violino solo* that has a titlepage stating it was published "in Venezia e in Trento" by "Giovanni Parone Stampator Vescovale" in 1713, is in the colophon on the last page revealed to have been printed "in Bologna, M.DCC. XII" by "Giuseppe Antonio Silvani". This could be a re-issue of an edition first sold by Silvani himself, or perhaps a deliberate collaboration. Like the editions printed by Monti and sold in Marino Silvani's shop before 1697, this one may have been purposely printed by Silvani to be sold by Parone, as the unusual presence of a colophon also suggests.¹⁷

13 Franco Bruni, '17th-century music prints at Mdina Cathedral, Malta', *Early Music*, 27 (1999), pp. 467–479.

14 On Sala see Claudio Sartori, 'Le origini di una casa editrice veneziana', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 7 (1960), pp. 57–61; Rosemary A. McGowan, 'The Venetian printer Giuseppe Sala: New information based upon archival documents', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 36 (1989), pp. 102–108.

15 Van der Linden, "Early eighteenth-century music type", p. 54, doc. 5: "si ricorda che tre anni sono per mano del sig.^r Sala lo scrissi".

16 On his activities see Clemente Lunelli, 'La tipografia trentina Parone nel Seicento e nel Settecento', in *Civis: Studi e testi*, A. 6 (1982), pp. 175–192.

17 The titlepage and the final page with the colophon are printed on a different paper (without a watermark) than the music (in the copy at Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, DD.189).

Finally, an account book relating to editions printed during the years 1716–1717 that was kept by Giuseppe Silvani's business partner at the time, count Pirro Capacelli Albergati, provides some evidence of a contact in Milan. On 24 November 1716 it registers that 4 copies of Angelo Bertalotti's primer *Regole facilissime per apprendere con facilità il canto figurato*, printed earlier that year, were "sent to Milan" and sold "alla mercantile". Rather than a place in Milan, this appears to refer to their being sold for a fixed price per printed sheet well below the retail price.¹⁸ Although the declared retail price of the book was 10 *soldi* for unbound copies and 12 *soldi* for bound ones, the ones sent to Milan were sold at a reduced rate of 1 *soldo* per sheet, which in this case added up to 8 *soldi* per book.

Similarly, Benedetto Marcello's *Canzoni madrigalesche* printed the next year had a retail price of 10 *paoli* (= 100 *soldi* = 5 *lire*), but the price "in mercantia" was again 1 *soldo* a sheet, which in the case of this large volume of 54 sheets added up to 2.14 *lire*. The composer, however, received 40 copies at a rate of 2 *soldi* per sheet (or 5.08 *lire* per volume), and further copies were sold at different cheaper rates to unspecified buyers between March and September 1717. Some of them were likely booksellers, too, although the order from Milan is unfortunately the only one for which a destination is given.¹⁹

Parone was Trent's most successful printer and bookseller, and surviving catalogues from the middle of the eighteenth century show a stock that was both very international as well as for 60% made up of books published before 1700.²⁰ Hence, Parone in Trent, Sala in Venice, and the unknown bookseller in Milan all could have served as both nodes in an ever more capillary network disseminating these books in the region, and links in a longer chain for exportation farther north. Parone, for instance, may have served the parish church of St Nicholas in the city of Merano, some 30 kilometres north of Bolzano. An inventory of its music library from 1696 includes several editions that can be identified as stemming from the Monti-Silvani firm.²¹ When the inventory was

18 Transcribed in Carrie Churnside, 'Music printing in early eighteenth-century Bologna: The case of Giuseppe Antonio Silvani and Pirro Albergati', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 17 (2012), pp. 105–134: 133.

19 Churnside, 'Music printing', p. 133.

20 See for an analysis of the 1756 and 1763 catalogues Mauro Hausberger, 'I "Cataloghi de' libri di Gianbattista Paroni stampatore in Trento": Appunti per una storia del libro nel Trentino del Settecento', *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, 77 (1998), pp. 21–48.

21 Renato Lunelli, 'Di alcuni inventari delle musiche già possedute dal coro della parrocchiale di Merano', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 25 (1962), pp. 347–362.

updated in 1711, a considerable number of new works had been bought, including multiple works by Bassani:²²

- “motetti” in 4 parts. Likely the *Metri sacri resi armonici in motetti*, opus 8 (latest edition: Silvani, 1696).
- “missa de Pro defunctis” [sic] in 12 parts. *Messa per li defonti*, opus 20 (Silvani, 1698).
- “motett sacri con voce sola e con violini” in 5 parts. *Motetti sacri à voce sola con violini*, opus 27 (Silvani, 1701).
- “Armonie festive” in 5 parts. *Armonie festive o siano motetti sacri*, opus 13 (latest edition: Silvani, 1696).
- “antifonae sacre a voce sola con violini”. *Antifone sacre à voce sola con violini per tutto l'anno*, opus 26 (Silvani, 1701).

Although the possibility cannot be excluded that some of these editions were the ones reprinted by Roger, the presence in the same list of other works that Roger did not reprint and the relative geographic vicinity strongly suggest these were the editions printed by Silvani.

Beyond the Alps

With Trent and Merano, at the foot of the Alps, we have arrived within Habsburg territory. From inventories and other sources we know that several monasteries and other institutions in central Europe also owned music by Bassani.²³ The Benedictine monastery at Michaelbeuern near Salzburg inherited a large music collection from its deceased prior in 1714 that included three Masses as well as various motets by Bassani in manuscript form, with the latter

22 Ibid., p. 358. The identifications have been made on the basis of the titles and number of partbooks.

23 For overviews of music collections in the region see Katalin Kim-Szacsvai, ‘Das Noteninventar des Jesuitenpaters Ignatio Müllner: Ein Musikalienkatalog aus der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts’, in *Oberschwäbische Klostermusik im europäischen Kontext: Alexander Sumski zum 70. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 43–66, and Angela Romagnoli, “Una musica grandiosa”: La musica sacra italiana tra Sei e Settecento nei fondi Boemi’, in Sante Graciotti and Jitka Kresálková (eds.), *Barocco in Italia, barocco in Boemia: Uomini, idee e forme d'arte a confronto* (Rome, Il Calamo, 2003), pp. 219–246.

deriving from the *Concerti sacri*, opus 11.²⁴ The Benedictine abbey at Ottobeuren, a good hundred kilometres west of Munich, still today owns six different Bassani editions printed by Silvani, as well as some others printed by Monti and Sala.²⁵ In 1706 yet another Benedictine monastery, in Amorbach, some 60 kilometres west of Würzburg, sent eight “bundles” (probably partbooks) of unspecified music by Bassani – possibly the same *Concerti sacri* – to a bookbinder in Frankfurt.²⁶ In fact, Bassani’s *Concerti sacri* were also bought in 1701 by the Premonstratensian monastery in Ilbenstadt, north of Frankfurt am Main, together with Sebastiano Cherici’s *Motetti sacri* and Johann von Wilderer’s *Modulationi sacre*.²⁷ Since the only edition of the latter work was the one printed by Roger, it seems likely that in this case also the other two works were Roger’s reprints rather than the original Italian editions.

The Monti-Silvani firm’s editions did reach buyers across the Alps, however, as shown for instance by the extensive music library of the Cistercian monastery at Osek (Ossegg in Czech), a good 50 kilometres south of Dresden. It included numerous works by Bassani, a corpus that was so central to its holdings that the inventory of the collection compiled in 1706 opened with a separate section of “opera Bassani”.²⁸ Besides many manuscripts the monastery also owned twenty-seven printed editions, including a considerable number published by Italian printers.²⁹ Bassani was represented by the *Armonici entusiasmi*, opus 9, and the *Motetti a voce sola*, opus 12, both of which were only printed by Sala, as well as the *Armonie festive*, opus 13 (probably Silvani, 1693 or 1696 rather than the Roger edition), and, surprisingly, the secular *La musa armonica: Cantate amorose musicali*, opus 16 (Monti, 1695).³⁰

24 Hellmut Federhofer, ‘Zur Musikpflege im Benediktinerstift Michaelbeuern (Salzburg)’, in Heinrich Hüsch (ed.), *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962* (Regensburg, Gustav Bosse, 1962), pp. 106–127.

25 Opus 8, 11, 13, 18, 20, and 21. The prints are briefly listed in Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die Musikhandschriften der Benediktiner-Abtei Ottobeuren: Thematischer Katalog* (Munich, Henle, 1986), pp. 271–273.

26 Ernst Fritz Schmid and Franz Bösen, *Die Orgeln von Amorbach: Eine Musikgeschichte des Klosters* (Mainz, B. Schott’s Söhne, 1963), p. 45: “8 Bündt Bassani Musicalien”.

27 Adam Gottron, *Mainzer Musikgeschichte von 1500 bis 1800* (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, 1959), p. 117.

28 On Osek see Barbara Ann Renton, ‘The musical culture of eighteenth-century Bohemia, with special emphasis on the music inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross’ (PhD Dissertation, City University of New York, 1990), pp. 244, 266.

29 Besides Bassani, other editions from the Monti-Silvani firm were works by Elia Vannini, Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Giovanni Andrea Florimi and Alessandro Grandi.

30 On the printed editions see Renton, ‘Musical culture’, pp. 264–267.

Besides monasteries, other ecclesiastical and secular institutions also had collections that included Italian music prints. According to an inventory made in 1737–38, the order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star at the church of St Francis Serafin in Prague owned, among other things, Bassani's *Lagrime armoniche*, opus 22 (Sala, 1699), as well as the *Completoary concerti*, opus 25 (Silvani, 1701) and the *Cantate et arie amorose*, opus 31 (Silvani, 1703).³¹ German court chapels, too, possessed music by Bassani, as testified also by numerous manuscripts with his music. One conspicuous example is the music library of the (Protestant) court chapel of Rudolstadt, some 45 kilometres south-east of Erfurt in central Germany. An early eighteenth-century inventory of its surprisingly large collection – 2640 individual pieces are listed – documents mostly manuscripts, but for many Italian composers the music must have derived from printed editions.³² In fact, of the 31 pieces by Bassani listed, a good number can be identified as having come from at least six different printed editions. What is more, only two of these are known to have been reprinted by non-Italian printers, and of the *Salmi concertati*, opus 21, only Silvani's edition from 1699 exists.³³ Although we do not know whether these pieces were directly copied from the printed editions in Rudolstadt or derive from them via a longer chain of manuscript copies, certainly some and likely all eventually derive from editions by Sala and Monti-Silvani.

Another example is the 1713 inventory of the music of the court chapel in Munich, which lists among the relatively few printed editions also Bassani's "motetti" in 8 parts, and "voce sola" [*sic*] in 5 parts. Although the second description is too generic to be identifiable – opus 13, 26, 27 are all sacred works in 5 parts "à voce sola" – considering the number of partbooks the first work was probably the *Concerti sacri: Motetti à una, due, trè, e quattro voci*, opus 11.³⁴ Since Giuseppe Silvani's own "litanie à 4 voc.," opus 1, (Silvani, 1702, never reprinted) and Giuseppe Aldrovandini's "mottetæ à 2 et 3 voc.," opus 1, (Silvani,

31 Ibid., pp. 416–417. Of the latter two only these Bolognese editions are known.

32 The inventory was published by Bernd Baselt, 'Die Musikaliensammlung der Schwarzburg-Rudolstädtischen Hofkapelle unter Philipp Heinrich Erlebach', in Walther Siegmund-Schultze (ed.), *Traditionen und Aufgaben der Hallischen Musikwissenschaft: Eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen anlässlich des 50-jährigen Bestehens des Instituts für Musikwissenschaft* (Halle-Wittenberg, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1963), pp. 105–134. During a fire in 1735 the entire collection was lost.

33 Ibid., *passim*. Most of these copies from printed editions were already identified by Baselt. They derive from opus 8, 9, 10, 11, 21, and 27.

34 Published in Karl Gustav Fellerer, 'Rupert Ignaz Mayr (1646–1712) und seine Kirchenmusik', *Archiv für Musikforschung*, 1 (1936), pp. 81–102: 96. Bolognese editions of opus 11 are: Monti, 1692, and Silvani, 1697. Editions by Aertssens and Roger are also known.

1701, never reprinted) are included in the same list, also the two works by Bassani may well have been Bolognese editions.³⁵ The court chapel in Dresden owned, and likely also performed, Bassani's music for *Compline* as published in the *Complectory concenti* opus 25, (Silvani, 1701). Its copy has on the cover of the theorbo partbook the annotation "pro direttore" in the hand of the assistant *Kapellmeister* Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) (fig. 13.1).

Although this evidence comes from inventories and surviving copies, there is also occasional information on exactly when and from whom music was acquired. Claudio Bacciagaluppi has recently published precisely such material regarding Swiss musical societies and other institutions. From it we learn, for instance, that the *Collegium musicum* "auf der Chorherrenstube" in Zurich, an amateur musical society, bought Bassani's *Salmi per tutto l'anno*, opus 30, in 1714 (Silvani, 1704).³⁶

On 3 March 1701 another musical society in Zurich, the *Collegium musicum* "auf der Deutschen Schule", requested the bookseller Peter Ziegler to keep an eye out at the Frankfurt book fair for them, and "if something by Gletle and Bassani can be had, to buy this, too, for us".³⁷ Further silence on the matter suggests that no such music was found there. In October 1706, however, the society bought Bassani's *Salmi concertati*, opus 21, (Silvani, 1699) and *Complectory concenti*, opus 25, (Silvani, 1701) from one of its former members, a minister. Interestingly, a year later the society acquired two further works by Bassani (opus 11 and 30) in editions printed by Roger, showing that Zurich's geographic location between Amsterdam and Bologna was indeed reflected in the available printed music. The corresponding vocal and instrumental parts of the two Bolognese editions were bound together as 14 partbooks, and in 1708 Ziegler was paid for having bound these as well as the two editions from Amsterdam.³⁸

In 1710 the society bought further works by Bassani with a gift of money which had been received from Ziegler's brother when he left the society. On 20 March of that year its records state that "the music ordered from Italy via

35 This notwithstanding the fact that a copy of the soprano partbook of Roger's pirated edition (fictitiously carrying also Silvani's name) of the *Concerti sacri* is now held at the Staatsbibliothek in Munich (shelfmark: 4 Mus.pr. 20339). This copy, however, has some early manuscript text changes pointing to a Protestant provenance (eg. p. 19 where "virginem Mariam" is changed to "Dominum dilectum"). On Roger's false imprints see Luigi Collarile, 'Estienne Roger, Marino Silvani, Giuseppe Sala. Prime ricognizioni intorno una collaborazione editoriale complessa', in Tiziana Affortunato (ed.), *La musicologia come pretesto: Studi in onore di Emilia Zanetti* (Rome, Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 2011), pp. 99–113.

36 Claudio Bacciagaluppi, 'Edizioni musicali italiane in alcuni inventari storici svizzeri (1622–1761)', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 17 (2012), pp. 59–84: 64.

37 Ibid., p. 66 n. 37.

38 Ibid., pp. 66–67.

Herr Ziegler in Thalacker was delivered”, listing the titles and opus numbers. In combination with the explicitly named provenance they can be securely identified as editions printed by Silvani:

- “Bassani Messe Concert: Op.^a XVIII”. *Messe concertate à 4 & 5 voci*, opus 18 (Silvani, 1698).
- “Metri Sacri VIII”. *Metri sacri resi armonici*, opus 8 (reprint: Silvani, 1696).
- “Completo: Concerti xxv”. *Completoy concerti*, opus 25 (Silvani, 1701).
- “Cantate & Arie amor: xxxi”. *Cantate et arie amorose à voce sola*, opus 31 (Silvani, 1703).

This distinct interest in the music of Bassani is further confirmed when between 1716 and 1717 the society ordered still more music by him in editions by Sala and Silvani: the psalms of the *Salmi di compieta*, opus 10 (reprint: Sala, 1697), and the funeral music of the *Messa per li defonti* (probably: Silvani, 1698), *Lagrima armoniche o sia il vespro de defonti*, opus 22 (Sala, 1699), and *Le note lugubri concertate ne responsorij dell'ufficio de morti*, opus 23 (Sala, 1700); as well as the secular cantatas in *La sirena amorosa*, opus 17 (Sala, 1699) and the *Corona di fiori musicali*, opus 29 (Silvani, 1702).³⁹

While the order Caifabri placed with Silvani – incidentally around the same time as these sales in Zurich – gave an insight into the distribution from printer-publisher to bookseller, these Swiss sources provide information about the workings of the international chains of distribution from booksellers to final buyers. Similar information about this part of the distribution chain from the years around 1700 has also surfaced for the Protestant ducal court of Gotha in central Germany.⁴⁰ An interest in and access to Italian music prints emerges already from a partial inventory of music from 1667 that included “Italian psalms in 11 volumes” by the Paduan singer and composer Simone Vesi (i.e. the *Salmi concertati* printed in Venice in 1656).⁴¹

In the 1690s the ducal chapel master Wolfgang Michael Mylius ordered further Italian music, with the authorisation of the duke, including Bolognese editions of

39 Ibid., p. 67.

40 The documents from the 1690s were first published (in shortened form) in Christian Ahrens, “Zu Gotha ist eine gute Kapelle...”: *Aus dem Innenleben einer thüringischen Hofkapelle des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2009), p. 262.

41 Simone Vesi, *Salmi concertati a 3, 4, & a 6 con stromenti con il secondo choro ad libitum* (Venice, Francesco Magni, 1656), which has 11 partbooks. See Gotha, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv, Geheimes Archiv, YY.VIII.a.3, nr. 1, f. 7v: “Simon Vesi italiänische salmi in 11 bänden”.

music by Bassani. The first evidence is from 1694, when on 3 September a bookseller in Nuremberg was paid for an unspecified “3. Oper.” by Bassani. The work was probably *Il cigno canoro: Cantate amorose*, opus 3, (Monti, 1682), although a copy of the same work was also bought in 1696.⁴² This later acquisition of music books, consisting of at least two separate orders and possibly multiple shipments, was made from the bookseller Wolfgang Moritz Endter in Nuremberg, who had probably also procured Bassani’s work for the court two years before.

Endter was himself a music publisher who had contacts in Vienna and Frankfurt as well as across Germany, although he was already focusing on his activities as a bookseller.⁴³ Of the music bought by the court, the oldest of the Italian works was Berardi’s *Ragionamenti musicali* from 1681, while the most recent was either Bassani’s *Armoniche fantasie* from 1694 or possibly even Sala’s 1696 reprints of Bassani’s opus 12 and 14. Certainly Endter’s firm had a stock of international books, and a catalogue from the mid 1680s included a section of 95 Italian books and 35 titles newly arrived from Italy.⁴⁴ As with these other foreign books, Endter may have acquired the Italian music editions at the Frankfurt book fair.⁴⁵

42 Ibid, Friedensteinsche Kammerrechnungen, Kammerrechnungen 1693–1694, f. 220v: “—f 12 gl. Zum Nachschuß der 3. oper: Bassani, so fürstlicher Hoff-Capell von Nürnberg erkauffet und eingeliefert worden, bezahlt an dem Agent Rothenhöfern dem 3. Septembris 1694. Beleg N° 1591”. At f. 220r is another payment of 3 f 9 gl for “einigen musicalia” from Nuremberg, dated 24 May 1694. Unfortunately the fascicle with corresponding receipts (*Belege*) that must have contained more information is no longer present.

43 See Friedrich Oldenbourg, *Die Endter: Eine Nürnberger Buchhändlerfamilie (1590–1740)* (Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1911), and Theodor Wohnhaas, ‘Zum Nürnberger Musikdruck und Musikverlag im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 48 (1973), pp. 337–343. Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 737 states that in 1699 Endter sold the printing part of the firm and continued as a bookseller.

44 Unfortunately, apparent *unica* of Endter’s printed catalogues from 1686–87 and 1718–19 in Munich, previously used by Oldenbourg, were lost during the war. The *Continuatio quarta (et septima) catalogi Monacensis pro officina Wolfg. Mauritii Endteri, Bibliopolae Norimb.* (1686–87), included, according to Oldenbourg, a “Catalogue de livres françois für Hall, München und Salzburg mit 430 Titlen, ein Abschnitt Librorum Italicorum vom 95 Titlen und eine Aufzählung von 35 ganz neu aus Italien angekommener Bücher”. The *Continuatio 1 und 11 Catalogi universalis librorum officinae Norimbergensis Wolfgangi Mauritii Endteri* (1718–19), in a postscript “Hierbey wird noch ein Catalogus derer französischen, Italiänischen un Spanischen Bücher ausgegeben” (see Oldenbourg, *Die Endter*, p. 76).

45 Oldenbourg, *Die Endter*, pp. 70–71.

The documents in Gotha include Endter's invoices listing the titles he had sent, and the confirmations and payment authorisations by Mylius and other court officials (see doc. 2 and fig. 13.2).⁴⁶ The earliest of the three shipments was a set of Masses by the Munich chapel master Johann Kaspar Kerll "which had already been sent 2 years earlier" (i.e. also around 1694). The invoice for the second shipment – identified as invoice A in the documents – is dated 8 September 1696, and Mylius added a note on 25 September that the books "had been supplied to the court chapel".

From the invoice it seems that the books had been sent at different times, because Angelo Berardi's treatise *Documenti armonici* is listed twice (with one copy each time), and Romanus Weichlein's sonatas were added in a second hand at a later time. Of the six books that were sent, four were music treatises printed by Monti and Silvani. Besides the two copies of Berardi's *Documenti* (Monti, 1687), they were his *Ragionamenti musicali* (Monti, 1681) and Giovanni Bononcini's *Musico pratico* (reprint: Silvani 1688).⁴⁷ A fifth Italian edition was Giovanni Battista Vitali's *Artificii musicali*, opus 3, which had been printed in Modena by the heirs of Cassiani in 1689.

The last in this series of shipments – represented by invoice B – is documented by two copies of the same invoice, one of them dated "1697". It consisted of nine titles of Italian secular and sacred music: besides Giorgio Buoni's *Allettamenti per camera a due violini e basso* (Monti, 1693), all of the other eight were various editions of Bassani's music. Half of these were editions by Sala and the other half were by Monti:

- Bassani, *Eco armonica delle muse: Cantate amorose a voce sola*, opus 7 (Monti, 1693).
- Bassani, *Il cigno canoro: Cantate amorose*, opus 3 (Monti, 1682).
- Bassani, *La moralità armonica: cantate à 2 e 3 voci*, opus 4 (Monti, 1690).
- Bassani, *Concerti sacri: Motetti à una, due, trè, e quattro voci con violini e senza*, opus 11 (Monti, 1692).

The invoice dated 1697 may have been a reminder sent early in that year, before payment was received, because authorisation to pay Endter via the duke's agent in Nuremberg was actually given on 20 December 1696.

46 On Mylius and the Gotha court see besides Ahrend, "Zu Gotha", also Bert Siegmund, "The court of Saxony-Gotha-Altenburg", in Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (eds.), *Music at German courts, 1715–1760: Changing artistic priorities* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 165–221.

47 Today a copy of Berardi's *Documenti* is still in the former ducal library (now Forschungsbibliothek) in Gotha at Mus. 8° 127/4. The copy of Bononcini's *Musico pratico* formerly at Math. 4° 565 was sold on 4 August 1932.

Conclusion: Intricacies of International Trade

Although no direct contacts between the Monti-Silvani firm and foreign booksellers have so far emerged, and no unbroken chain from printer to bookseller to customer could be established, nonetheless by piecing together disjointed pieces of published and unpublished sources, some agents in the distribution network that allowed buyers from Malta to Gotha to buy the firm's music books have been brought to light. Some were directly in contact with Silvani, establishing connections with Rome, Venice, Milan, and Trent. On the other end of the chain are the connections between the court in Gotha and Endter in Nuremberg, and between "Italy" and Ziegler in Zurich, as well as between him and the musical societies in that city.

Although this essay has focused narrowly on only part of Bassani's works, and only part of the output of his Bolognese printers, by considering these two partial views in tandem we get some sense of how the popularity of Bassani's music on the one hand provided a business opportunity for the Monti-Silvani firm, but on the other hand required successful marketing and an efficient trade network in order to have its editions compete with those printed in Antwerp, London, and especially Amsterdam. The firm appears to have been relatively successful at least in central Europe, even across confessional boundaries.

Geographical distance and confessional boundaries were one element that shaped access to foreign markets, but the prices of music books were certainly another. Transportation costs, taxes, and the margins made by the chain of middlemen and various booksellers must have affected the (final) retail price of these books. That these concerns were clearly a factor for buyers and sellers of printed music appears for instance from a notice in the 1748 music catalogue of the Lotter booksellers in Augsburg:

Since until now much time and money in porto costs has been lost on both sides in the frequent written requests about the prices of music books, we have printed the most recent price alongside them according to how they are sold here in Augsburg. Every buyer should know, though, that when this music is sold by other booksellers or peddlers outside Augsburg, they cannot give it for this price because of shipping, levy, toll, travel expenses, and vituals.⁴⁸

48 *Libri musici oder Verzeichnis derer musicalischen Bücher welche bey Johann Jacob Lotters seel. Erben, Buchdrucker und Handlere in Augspurg..., ferner in München wie auch in Salzburg auf denen beyden Jahr-Märckten nebst noch vielen anderen um beygesetzten Preiß*

The notorious complexity of early modern monetary systems and exchange rates makes an international comparison of prices a daunting task, but from such costs as those listed above it is clear that with greater geographical distance came greater cost, not only because the increased number of middlemen who took some margin, but also because of the tax burden of trading goods internationally.

At the same time, book prices were of course influenced by many factors, from the number of printed sheets, paper quality, and possible binding, to their relative scarcity or copy-specific characteristics. In fact, books that in Sala's and Silvani's catalogues are listed for the same price were bought by the court in Gotha for widely different prices.⁴⁹ Considering the great fluctuation of per-sheet prices mentioned above in relation to Silvani's sales of new works between 1716 and 1717, this is perhaps not surprising. They show that even within one firm prices could vary greatly from one sale to the next, depending on what was sold and to whom. Count Capacelli Albergati, Silvani's business partner, noted in the account book mentioned above that on 17 March 1717 he bought unnamed "works by Bassani" adding up to 116 sheets from Silvani at a total price of 5.16 *lire*, a price of 1 *soldo* per sheet that reflected the rate also charged to booksellers for new works. In comparison, at the end of the month he bought Valentini's *Concerti grossi*, opus 7 (Silvani, 1710), at an effective rate of 1½ *soldi* per sheet for a total of 6.15 *lire*, possibly because this music was newer or more sought-after or both.⁵⁰

If more such material comes to light it will perhaps be possible to get not only a more complete picture of the agents that constituted the international distribution network that traded Italian music prints around 1700 (and Monti-Silvani editions in particular), but also a better sense of how much the prices

zu haben seynd (Augsburg, 1748): "Weilen bishero durch vieles Anfragen des Preises um Musicalische Bücher mit Schreiben beyderseits die Zeit, als auch das Geld durch Brief-Porto verlohren gegangen, so haben zugleich den allernächsten Preiß mit beygedruckt, wie sie hier in Augspurg verkaufft werden. Ein jeder Käußer wird sich zu bescheiden wissen, daß, wann diese Musicalien von andern Buchhändlern, oder Land-Kramern ausserhalb Augspurg verkaufft werden, sie solche wegen habender Fracht, Zoll, Mauth, Reiß-Unkosten und Zehrung, nicht um diesen Preiß abgeben können".

49 These catalogues can be found in Oscar Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Florence, Olschki, 1984).

50 Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Albergati, Miscellanea 58, nr. 5: "18 marzo [1717]. Per il valore di foglij 116 di opere del Bassani £ 5.16. — | 31 detto. Per il valore dell'opera settima di Giuseppe Valentini foglij 90 a ragione di *quatrini* 9 il foglio £ 6.15. —" (see also Churnside, 'Music printing', p. 132, app. 3).

of these books fluctuated, and what the effects on the dissemination of printed music were. The examples of actual sales of the firm's editions discussed throughout this chapter at least give some sense of the many intricacies of how the local and international book trade, operated on the ground level of actual transactions, both logistically and financially.

Documents

The following transcription principles have been adopted: orthography has been retained, but capitalisation has been modernised; all except the most common abbreviations have been resolved in italics; numbers and identifications have been added to the lists of titles (in all cases the most recent edition at the time is given). Page turns in unfoliated documents are marked with |.

Doc. 1

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 13 January 1716. The text in Italian is on a separate sheet and in Silvani's hand, except for the words between {...} and the crossing-out, which were added by the notary.

Transumptus *Domini* Joseph Antonii Silvani
1716. Indictione nona, die vero 13 mensis januarii tempore *Sanctissimi* et *Domini Nostri Domini* Clementis divina Pape XI.

Cunctis pateat, et evidenter notum sit qualiter ego notarius *infradictus* requisitus pro *presente*, et ad instantiam *domini* Joseph Antonii Silvani, qui michi exhibuit quamdam *epistolam*, ut ipse asseruit, *originalem scriptam* et *subscriptam* ut apparet a *domino* Tolomeo Ilarioni Caifabri sub *datum* Romę die 23 martii 1715.

Transumptavi fideliter et diligenter de verbo ad verbum prout in illa iacet, copiam *epistolę* michi ut *supra* exhibetę tenoris sequentis videlicet quam copiam transumptavi bene et fideliter et supradicta *epistola* michi ut *supra* *presentata*, illamque collationavi de verbo ad verbum, et concordare inveni cum eadem adiuvanta michi socio fideli, qua collatione et transupta [*sic*] *factam dictam* | *epistolam* michi ut *supra* pro originali exhibitam restitui dicto *domino* Joseph Antonio Silvano *presenti*, et recipientis retenta penes me *supradicta* copia collationata; In quorum &c. |

~~Copia della lettera scritta dal sig.^r Tolomeo Ilarioni Caifabri al sig.^r Giuseppe Antonio Silvani stampatore di musica in Bologna~~

{Intus} Roma li 23 marzo 1715

Sono con questo a pregarla di volermi spedire con più sollecitudine che sia possibile la sotto notata robba, e siano registrate, e foglii sani, che nella passata mi aveste mandato li libri del musico pratico uno tutto rovinato che non serve a niente.

[1]	Salmi per tutto l'anno à 4 Alesandro Grandi tre copie	3
[2]	Salmi Bassani opera 21	1
[3]	Salmi Bassani opera 30	1
[4]	Salmi per tutto l'anno Pietro Franchi	2
[5]	Messe Bassani opera 32	1
[6]	Messe e salmi Colonna opera decima	2
[7]	Motetti à 1, 2, 3, e 4 Bassani opera undecima	2
[8]	Lamentationi del Colonna	2
[9]	Lamentationi del Gezzi [sic]	2
[10]	Motetti Bassani opera 27	1
[11]	Il Penna	1
[12]	Il Setticlave canoro	6
[13]	Inni Silvani	1
[14]	Cantate à voce sola Bassani opera 16, e 19 una per sorte	2
[15]	Cantate del Brevi	2
[16]	Sonate Corelli opera prima	2
[17]	Seconda	4
[18]	Quarta	4
[19]	Sonate e versetti Pietro degl'Antonij opera undecima	3

Questo è quanto desidero, non di più, e se a Vostra Signoria gli facessi di bisogno altre opere del sig.^r Giuseppe Valentini in cambi [sic] glie ne mandarei, et resto a vostri comandi.

Tolomeo Ilarioni Caifabri

{Foris: A sig.^{ri} Carlo, e Fratelli Silvani

Bologna}

1. Alessandro Grandi, *Salmi per i vesperi di tutto l'anno con le litanie della B.V., Te Deum ergo a 4 voci pieni* (Silvani, 1707) | 2. Bassani, *Salmi concertati a 3. 4. e 5. voci con violini e ripieni*, opus 21 (Silvani, 1699) | 3. Bassani, *Salmi per tutto l'anno a otto voci reali divise in due chori*, opus 30 (Silvani, 1704), 1707 | 4. Giovanni Pietro Franchi, *Salmi Pieni à quatro Voci, per tutto l'Anno da cantarsi con l'Organo, e senza* (Silvani, 1697) | 5. Bassani, *Messe concertate a quattro voci con strumenti e ripieni*, opus 32 (Silvani, 1710) | 6. Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *Messa e salmi concertati a 3. 4. e 5. voci se piace con strumenti e ripieni à beneplacito*, opus 10 (Monti, 1691) | 7. Bassani, *Concerti sacri, mottetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci con violini e senza*, opus 11 (Silvani, 1697) | 8. Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *Sacre lamentationi della Settimana Santa a voce sola* (Monti, 1689) | 9. Ippolito Ghezzi,

Lamentationi per la Settimana Santa à voce sola (Silvani, 1707) | 10. Bassani, *Motetti sacri à voce sola con violini*, opus 27 (Silvani, 1701) | 11. Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali per li principianti della musica figurata* (Monti, 1696) | 12. Ippolito Ghezzi, *Il setticlave canoro dove s'insegna [sic] gli elementi musicali et il modo di dare il solfeggio à tutte le sette chiavi* ([Silvani], 1709) | 13. Either Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, *Inni sacri per tutto l'anno a voce sola, con violini a beneplacito* (Silvani, 1702), or his *Inni sacri per tutto l'anno à quattro voci pieni da cantarsi con l'orgnao e senza* (Silvani, 1705) | 14. Bassani, *La musa armonica; cantate amoroze musicali à voce sola*, opus 16 (Monti, 1695); Idem, *Languidezze amoroze; cantate a voce sola*, opus 19 (Silvani, 1698) | 15. Giovanni Battista Brevi, *Le forze d'amore cantate a voce sola*, opus 1 (Monti, 1691); or the lost "Cantate a voce sola. Gio. Battista Brevi. Opera Quarta" listed in Silvani's 1707 catalogue. | 16. Arcangelo Corelli, *Suonate a 3 strumenti, due violini e violone ò tiorba, col basso per l'organo*, opus 1 (Silvani, 1704) | 17. Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonate da camera a 3, doi violini e violone o cimballo*, opus 2 (Silvani, 1701) | 18. Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonate a 3 composte per l'accademia dell'eminentiss. e reverendiss. sig. cardinale Ottoboni*, opus 4 (Silvani, 1704) | 19. Either Pietro degli Antonii, *Sonate e versetti per tutti li tuoni, tanto naturali come trasportati per l'organo da rispondere al coro*, opus 9 (Silvani, 1712), or an otherwise unknown opus 11 with a similar title.

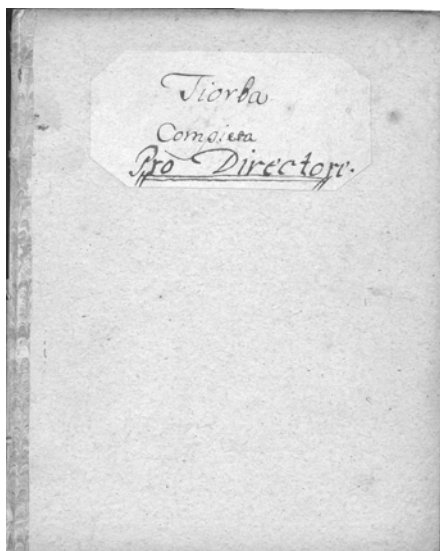


FIGURE 13.1 *Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus.214.E.2. Front cover and titlepage of the Violone o tiorba partbook of Bassani's Completery concenti.*

BOLOGNA, MARINO SILVANI, 1701

Ist der Befehl der Fürstlichen Kammer Herrn Wally Moritz für
 die mündliche Auftragsnahme auf die in der folgenden
 Liste folgende opera Musitalia geordnet und
 mit vorgedruckter Specification, und Vorbericht Herrn
 Hofraths: Johann Christoph von Serron, und dann auf
 dem 2. Theil: Das Herr Cammer Rath Kai. Landt. Hof. Rath
 des.

Herrn Joh. Caspar Kerls, Hofraths: Johann Christoph von Serron
 für die Mündliche Auftragsnahme in der
 obigen albaunt vor 2 Jahren gemacht
 worden — — — — — vor 2 Jahren

1. Last Inlet, Numero A.			
1. Berardi Documenti armonici in 4to.	f.	45	
2. Bononcini Musica pratica in 4to	f.	45	
3. Berardi Elementi armonici in 4to	f.	45	
4. — — — — — L'armonia in 4to	f.	16	
5. Vitali Solificium musicale in 4to	f.	28	
6. Herrn Wally Serron Sonaten.	2	15	
Last Inlet, Numero B.		50	349. 92.
Baffani Ecco armonica f. Cantate amoroſe opera VII. in 4to.		f.	45.
Ligno Canoro f. Cantate amoroſe opera III. in 4to.		f.	28
La moralità armonica f. Cantate ar. e voci opera IV. in 4to		f.	52
Concerti sacri f. Motelli q. 1. 2. 3. ex voci con Violini opera XI. in 4to.		f. i.	24.
Motelli a Voce sola opera XII. in 4to.		—	56.

FIGURE 13.2 Gotha, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv, Friedensteinsche Kammerrechnungen, Belege 1696/97, nr. 1729, f. 227r.

Doc. 2

Gotha, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv, Friedensteinsche Kammerrechnungen, Belege 1696/97, nr. 1729: ff. 227r–v is a summary made in Gotha, ff. 228, 229, and 230 are three invoices on separate pieces of paper. The German valuta abbreviations are thl=*T(h)aler* (and rthl/Rthl=*Reichsthaler*); gl=*Groschen*; pf=*Pfennig*, and the money of account f=*Gulden* (and gf=*Goldgulden*); kr or ×=*Kreuzer*; pf=*Pfennig*. These documents show multiple amounts, both in the *Gulden* system and in the *Taler* system, some of which were written over and changed.

[f. 227r: list of shipments made at the court]

Es hat der Buchführer in Nürnberg Herr Wolf Moritz Endter mir Endes unterschrieben auff mein Begehren der fürstliche Capella folgende Opera musicalia gelieffert, welches mit vorgezeigter Specification, und Vorbericht Herr hochfürstlichen durchleuchtigen unßers gnädiger Herrn, und dann auch Ihrer Excellenz des Herrn Cammerraths Reichardts geschehen lass.⁵¹

(1) [1] Herrn Johann Caspar Kerls Churfürstlich Bäyerisch Capelmeisters in München gedruckte Messen in 4to welche albereit vor 2 Jahre gesendet wurden.

vor 2 thl 10 gl 6 pf

(2) Laut Entlass, numero A			×
[2]	1	Berardi Documenti armonici in 4to	f—.45
[3]	1	Bononcini Musico pratico	f—.45
[2]	1	Berardi Documenti armonici in 4to	f—.45
[4]	1	— — Rationamenti musicali in 12	f—.16
[5]	1	Vitali Artificium musicale in folio	f—.28
[6]	1	Herrn Weicheleinis Sonaten	[f] 2.15
			<hr/>
			5 [thl] 3 gl 9 pf
			3 thl 11 gl 9 pf

(3) Laut Entlass, numero B		
[7]	Bassani Ecco armonica · . cantate amorose opera VII in 4to	f—.45
[8]	Cigno canoro · . Cantate amorose opera III in 4to	f—.28
[9]	La moralità armonica · . Cantate a 2 e 3 voci opera IV in 4to	f—.52

⁵¹ Ulrich Hess, *Geheimer Rat und Kabinett in den ernestinischen Staaten Thüringens: Organisation, Geschäftsgang und Personalgeschichte der obersten Regierungssphäre im Zeitalter des Absolutismus* (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1962), p. 369, lists Georg Reichardt as *kammerrat* between 1701–1713.

[10]	Concerti sacri · · motetti a 1, 2, 3 e 4 voci con violini opera XI in 4to	<i>f</i> 1.24
[11]	Motetti à voce sola opera XII in 4to [227v]	[<i>f</i>] —.56
		×
[12]	Amorosi sentimenti · · Cantate à voce sola opera XIV in 4to	<i>f</i> —.24
[13]	Armoniche Fantasie. Cantate à voce sola opera XV in 4to	<i>f</i> —.15
[14]	Affetti canori, Cantate e Ariette opera VI in 4to	<i>f</i> —.40
[15]	Buoni Allettamenti per camera a 2 violini e Basso opera III in 4to	<i>f</i> —.36
Worinn Rthl mit gl		3 rthl 13 gl
mit gf		9 thl 11 gl 11 pf ⁵²

Solche 9 thl 11 gl 11 pf hat der fürstlichen Sächsisch Friedensteinschen cammerschreiber herr Lepel dann auch fürstlichen Agenten in Nürnberg Herrn Welckern durch Inschrein baar gezahlet, welches hir mit quittirend bescheini-
get wird.

Gotha am 20 Xbris 1696.

W.M. Mylius Capelmeister

attestatus die 20 Xber 1696

Chr. Fr. Mittag

10 *f* 17 kr 11 pf

[f. 228r, second invoice from Endter]

B.		×
[7]	Bassani Eco armonica · · Cantate amorose, opera VII 4°	<i>f</i> —.45.—
[8]	_____ Cigno canoro · · Cantate amorose opera III 4°	<i>f</i> —.28.—
[9]	_____ La moralità armonica · · Cantate à 2, 3, e 3 voci opera IV 4°	<i>f</i> —.52.—
[10]	_____ Concerti sacri · · Motetti à 1, 2, 3, e 4 voci con violini opera XI 4°	<i>f</i> 1.24.—
[11]	_____ Motetti à voce sola, opera XII 4°	<i>f</i> —.56.—

52 Changed from "10 thl 16 gl 11 pf".

[12]	_____	Amorosi sentimenti · · Cantate à voce sola opera XIV 4°	<i>f</i> — .24.—
[13]	_____	Armoniche Fantasie, cantate à voce sola opera XV 4°	<i>f</i> — .15.—
[14]	_____	Affetti canori, cantate e ariette, opera VI 4°	<i>f</i> — .40.—
[15]	Buoni	Allettamenti per camera à 2 violini e Basso opera III 4°	<i>f</i> — .36.—

dieses gehet ab weil es
incomplet befunden⁵³

3 thl 13 gl 8 pf

[f. 229r, first invoice from Endter]

A.	Laus Deo Anno 1696 adi 8 Septembris in Nürnberg		
[2]	1 Berardi Documenti armonici 4°		<i>f</i> — .45.—
[3]	1 Bononcini Music pratico 4°		<i>f</i> — .45.—
[2]	1 Berardi Documenti Armonici 4°		<i>f</i> — .45.—
[4]	1 — — Ragionamenti musicali 12°		<i>f</i> — .16.—
[5]	1 Vitali Artificium musicale folio		<i>f</i> — .28.—
[6]	1 Herrn Weichelenis Sonaten		2 <i>f</i> 15 #
			<hr/>
			5 <i>f</i> 3 kr 9 pf
			3 thl 11 gl 9 pf

Obige Bücher sind der fürstliche
Capell geliefert worden
Gotha am 25 7mbris 1696
W.M. Mylius
Capellmeister

Wolfgang Moritz Endter

[f. 230r, repeat of the second invoice from Endter]

Laus Deo! Anno 1697 in Nürnberg			
Tit: Herr Wolfgang Michael			
Mÿlius, hochfürstlicher Capel-Meister			
in Gotha soll umb empfieng [<i>sic</i>]			
folgende Musicalia			
[7]	1 Bassani Eco armonica 4°		<i>f</i> — .45.—
[8]	1 — — — Cigno canoro 4°		<i>f</i> — .28.—
[9]	1 — — — La moralità armonica 4°		<i>f</i> — .52.—
[10]	1 — — — Concerti sacri 4°		<i>f</i> 1.24.—

53 This phrase was later added by a court official.

[11]	1 — — —	Motetti à Voce Sola 4°	<i>f</i> — .56.—
[12]	1 — — —	Amorosi sentimenti 4°	<i>f</i> — .24.—
[13]	1 — — —	Armoniche Fantasie 4°	<i>f</i> — .15.—
[14]	1 — — —	Affecti Canori 4°	<i>f</i> — .40.—
[15]	1 Buoni Aliettamenti per camera 4°		<i>f</i> — .36.—

*f*6.20[—]

Wolfgang Moritz Endter

1. Johann Caspar Kerll, *Missae sex a IV. v. VI. vocibus cum instrumentis concertantibus* (Munich, Johannes Jaecklin, 1689) | 2. Angelo Berardi, *Documenti armonici* (Monti, 1687) | 3. Giovanni Bononcini, *Musico pratico* (Silvani, 1688) | 4. Angelo Berardi, *Ragionamenti musicali* (Monti, 1681). | 5. Giovanni Battista Vitali, *Artificii musicali ne quali si contengono canoni in diverse maniere...opera decima terza* (Modena, Eredi Cassiani stampatori episcopali, 1689) | 6. Romanus Weichlein, *Encaenia musices seu opus primum musicale a duodecim sonatis cum quinque et pluribus instrumentis* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1695) | 7. Bassani, *Eco armonica delle muse, cantate amorose a voce sola*, opus 7 (Bologna, Pier-Maria Monti, 1693) | 8. Bassani, *Il cigno canoro, cantate amorose*, opus 3 (Monti, 1682) | 9. Bassani, *La moralità armonica, cantate à 2 e 3 voci*, opus 4 (Monti, 1690) | 10. Bassani, *Concerti sacri: Motetti à una, due, tre, e quattro voci con violini e senza*, opus 11 (Monti, 1692) | 11. Bassani, *Motetti a voce sola*, opus 12 (Sala, 1692, or possibly Sala's 1696 reprint) | 12. Bassani, *Amorosi sentimenti di cantate à voce sola*, opus 14 (Sala, 1693, or possibly Sala's 1696 reprint) | 13. Bassani, *Armoniche fantasie di cantate amorose à voce sola*, opus 15 (Sala, 1694) | 14. Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Affetti canori, cantate et ariette*, opus 6 (Sala, 1692) | 15. Giorgio Buoni, *Allettamenti per camera a due violini e basso*, opus 3 (Monti, 1693).

Translating Renaissance Drama: Networks, Platforms, Apps

Anston Bosman

This chapter argues that the intercultural alchemy we call translation has been essential to the construction and dissemination of early modern plays. If this claim seems unfamiliar, that is because the standard histories of drama and theatre fix their canons according to the boundaries of nineteenth-century nation-states, marking out separations that sixteenth-century writers and actors, to say nothing of printers and patrons, either did not recognize or were determined to override. The capacity of those plays – both texts and performances – to exceed one culture's space and time is the key to their resonance and their force. The strongest version of my argument would be, to adapt a remark Umberto Eco once made about the language of Europe, that Renaissance drama simply *is* translation.¹ Justifying this claim requires that we somewhat revise literary history, replacing a tale of discrete unities with one of partnerships, and stressing transformations over traditions. That revision may fall short of what David Cannadine, in a plea to write a history “beyond our differences,” has idealistically called the “undivided past” – but it should restore connections across a field that has been too long and too starkly divided.²

For some time, I have been working to reassemble one scattered narrative of Renaissance drama in translation, namely the circulation of printed and performed plays across Northern Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The scholarship that has helped me to define my terrain, and chart drama's travels across it, may be classed as historical on the one hand and theoretical on the other. Among recent historians of many stripes, the idea of early modern Northern Europe as a ‘culture area’ has steadily gained currency.³

1 Umberto Eco's oft-repeated statement, reportedly made at the *Assises de la traduction littéraire* in Arles, France, on 14 November 1993, was “The language of Europe is translation”.

2 David Cannadine, *The Undivided Past: Humanity Beyond Our Differences* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2013).

3 Current among anthropologists of the Americas by 1916, the term ‘culture area’ was defined in 1939 by A.L. Kroeber as a “geographical unit” harboring a “regionally individualized type or specific growth of culture”; see his *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939), pp. 1–4. Kroeber distanced this usage from an “old environmentalism” that construed geography as destiny. A reappraisal of the term in

The ground of this consensus is a form of spatial thinking about the past sometimes referred to as 'geohistory'; the term is Fernand Braudel's, and his classic study of the Mediterranean world is often cited as the inspiration for a corresponding portrait of the societies living on the coasts of the Northern European plain.⁴ The 'North Sea world' is now a working concept for archaeologists, geographers, economists, and others, and while no panoramic equivalent of *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen* has yet appeared, one cannot read Diarmaid MacCulloch on the Reformation, or David Nicholas on Germanic law, or Jeffrey Chipps Smith on Northern Renaissance art, without a gathering sense of a cultural system whose legacy endures today.⁵ Yet literary historians of the period have been comparatively slow on the uptake, especially in Britain, whose traditional 'island story' has tended to occlude deep reciprocity with Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and the German-speaking lands.⁶

Even so, the limitation of a phrase like 'culture area' is that it too easily appears static. It is a basic enough task to demarcate a geohistorical environment – even an early modern map goes some way towards that goal – but more difficult to show the vibrant interactions, within and without, that kept a system like the North Sea world thriving. What models could foreground the dynamism that cultural translation requires but the archive barely preserves? One idea is to graft a history of culture *areas* to a theory of cultural *ecologies*, a shift enabling us to reconceive of drama and theatre not as stable artifacts or indigenous practices, but rather as media in motion. We can visualize this theoretical move with the help of recent information science. In 2012, an anonymous hacker posted

describing regional cultural patterns is R. Lederman, 'Globalization and the Future of Culture Areas', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27 (1998), pp. 427–449.

- 4 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1949), pp. 295–303. Braudel's work became the template for the field of comparative maritime history now dubbed "the New Thalassology," in which field, write Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, "The Baltic/North Sea region is [viewed as] the Mediterranean of the North." See their "The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology", *American Historical Review*, 111:3 (June 2006), p. 725.
- 5 See Diarmaid MacCulloch *Reformation: Europe's house divided, 1490–1700* (London, Allen Lane, 2003); David Nicholas, *The Northern lands: Germanic Europe, c.1270–c.1500* (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Northern Renaissance* (London, Phaidon Press, 2004).
- 6 The phrase 'island story' and its associated isolationist narrative persisted in curricular reforms undertaken by the former British education minister Michael Gove. For a critique of the reforms, see Richard J. Evans, 'The Wonderfulness of Us (the Tory Interpretation of History)', *London Review of Books* 33:6 (17 March 2011), pp. 9–12. A countervailing view of history and literature in the period is exemplified by Lisa Jardine in *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (New York, Harper, 2008).

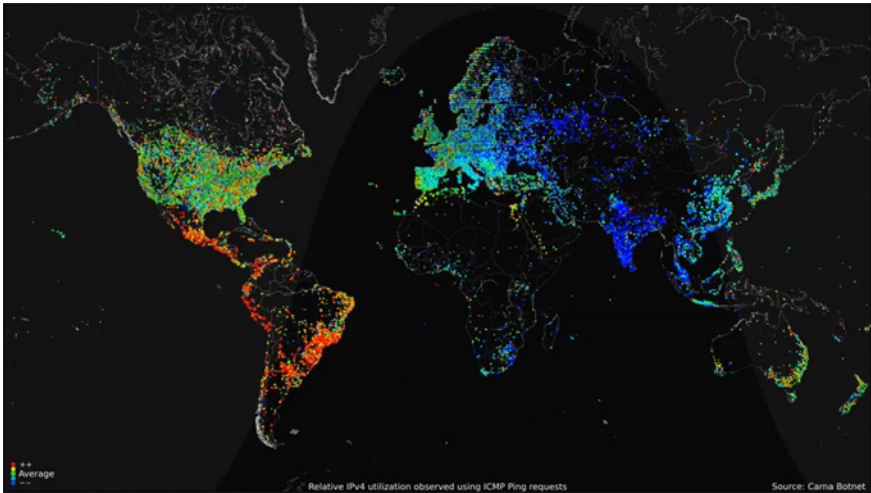


FIGURE 14.1 *Worldwide Internet usage from June to October 2012. Published under the pseudonym 'Carna Botnet' at <http://internetcensus2012.bitbucket.org/paper.html>. Accessed 17 June 2014. Public domain.*

online a startling animated graphic that captured a day in the life of the Internet by plotting the traffic of almost half a million connected devices worldwide (Figure 14.1).⁷ In a snapshot that freezes the animation's rhythmic sweep of electronic messages across the globe, Northern Europe appears as an especially dense cluster of shared information.

This image of today's 'media ecology' offers a model for early modern cultural translation.⁸ The present chapter will not attempt to map a corresponding

7 The graphic shows the findings of an unprecedented (and illegal) census of internet use. The original paper, published under the pseudonym Carna Botnet, can be found at <http://internetcensus2012.bitbucket.org/paper.html>. The journalist Adam Clark Estes explains the paper at <http://motherboard.vice.com/blog/this-is-most-detailed-picture-internet-ever>. Sites accessed 17 June 2014.

8 Based on the ideas of Marshall McLuhan, the term 'media ecology' was coined by Neil Postman in a 1968 speech published two years later. Postman has variously defined the field as "the study of transactions among people, their messages, and their message systems" and "the study of information environments." See Thomas F. Gencarelli, 'Neil Postman and the Rise of Media Ecology', in Casey Man Kong Lum (ed.), *Perspectives on Culture, Technology and Communication: The Media Ecology Tradition*, (Cresskill, Hampton Press, 2006), pp. 201–253, with quotations on p. 214 and p. 221. The special role of literature within information environments has been addressed, sometimes under the similar term 'medial ecology,' by Friedrich Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, Michael Metteer (trans.), (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1990); N. Katherine Hayles, *Writing Machines* (Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press,

ecology for 1512 or 1612, an immense if not impossible endeavor; nor will it argue for a causal relation between distributions then and now. I propose instead simply to borrow some vocabulary from the present-day sociology of communications – terms whose currency in our mobile and mediated world may surprise us into asking some old questions anew.

Here, then, are the questions. In *The Art of Rhetoric* (1553), Thomas Wilson sets out the “circumstances” an orator must address in composing a demonstrative speech:

Who, what, and where, by what help and by whose,
Why, how, and when, do many things disclose.⁹

Wilson’s mnemonic translates the inquiries that teachers of rhetoric trained their students to demand of communicative situations – in other words, the original rhetorical questions. The seven circumstances derive from the Greek Hermagoras of Temnos and pass through Augustine and Boethius to be formulated by Matthew of Vendôme in a Latin hexameter:

*Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?*¹⁰

This chapter will pose these challenges to drama translation, separating Matthew’s queries into three groups so as to signal phases in the North European media ecology. The first group asks *quis, quid, ubi*: Who translated what drama and where? The second asks *quomodo, quibus auxiliis*: How and with what aid was the translation done? The third question is *cur*: Why? What was the point of translating early modern drama? To each group in turn this chapter attaches a keyword from twenty-first century media studies. To chart the people, places, and products involved in drama translation, I use the term *network*. Next, translation’s means, channel, or medium is explored via the

2002); and Joseph Tabbi and Michael Wutz, (eds.), *Reading Matters: Narrative in the New Media Ecology* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1997). But the place of drama in such environments remains unexplored terrain.

9 Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetoric*, ed. Peter E. Medine (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 60.

10 “Who says what, where, with what aid, why, how, when?”. For the tag line in the *Ars Versificatoria*, see *Mathei Vindocinesis Opera*, Franco Munari (ed.), (Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1988) 3:128. Translation mine. For another version with helpful footnotes, see Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (eds.) *Medieval grammar and rhetoric: language arts and literary theory, AD 300–1475* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 559–572; the tag line appears on p. 565.

TABLE 14.1 Questions, keywords, and timeframes

<i>Quis, quid, ubi?</i>	<i>Quomodo, quibus auxiliis?</i>	<i>Cur?</i>
Network	Platform	Application
1500–1580	1580–1620	1620–1660

concept of *platform*. Finally, to probe translation’s intents, functions, or effects, I deploy the language of *applications*, familiar to most of us today through the abbreviation *apps*.

Of the ancient rhetorical questions, I have so far omitted *quando*, the matter of time. Now, to reintroduce history into our media ecology, the chapter will peg each of its subtitle’s keywords to a phase in the timespan of early North European drama: *network* will be the rubric for the earlier sixteenth century; *platform* will guide remarks on the late sixteenth and early seventeenth; and *apps* from the mid-seventeenth onward (Table 14.1).

This segmentation and sequence is heuristic, since any of the keywords can be shown to operate across the period and beyond; the translation of drama *always* involves networks, programs, and apps, and a follow-up study could profitably ask how each configuration alters on the diachronic scale. The current experiment can yield only a partial index to the history of a neglected cultural process in a complex place and age.

Network

Of my three keywords, only *network* is already in use by historians of the Renaissance. Peter Burke advocates the term to counterbalance what he regards as a scholarly fixation on the lives of individuals in early modernity – a habit of writing he traces as far back as Georgio Vasari.¹¹ For Burke, a network is a small group of writers or artists, either physically co-located in sites such as courts and universities, or virtually connected by correspondence or print. For all Burke’s interest in distributed collaboration, however, his favorite synonym for “network” is puzzlingly “circle”, and the groups he analyzes still tend to center around one polymath: in Italy, around Petrarch or Bruni or Ficino; in Spain,

11 Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1998), pp. 10–11. At the other extreme, the term “network” is offered as a corrective to a Marxian “Society with a capital S.”

Nebrija; in France, Lefèvre; in Germany, Trithemius (Johann Heidenberg).¹² Yet such humanist coteries are only one model of early modern cultural networks. For each interconnected group of academics there flourished one of artisans, and market towns gathered more go-betweens, from all age groups and professions, than did monasteries.

Nor did circles of art and knowledge ever operate apart from circuits of labor and trade. On the contrary, the Northern Renaissance media ecology strengthened links between cosmopolitan elites and the makers of popular culture, and theatre networks especially bridged high and low culture, linking inn-yards to church squares to the great halls of palaces. Over centuries, however, literary historians have firmly partitioned the network of North European drama so that classical, neo-Latin and vernacular plays (a range whose furthest poles would be Latin printing on the one hand and vernacular performance on the other) are rarely allowed to communicate. By choosing translation as an interface, this chapter seeks one way of restoring communication across the network.

But let us consider, to begin with, an example that nearly produced a network failure. Ironically enough, no play in the canon of early European drama may have been more invidiously partitioned than one named for common humanity: *The Summoning of Everyman*. The generations of students for whom *Everyman* is all but synonymous with medieval England were educated under the aegis of guides like the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, the first edition of which avers that “the medieval period in English literature extends... from Caedmon’s *Hymn* at the end of the 7th century to *Everyman* at the end of the 15th.”¹³ The *Norton* dates the play to “ca. 1485,” not co-incidentally the year when Henry Tudor took the throne – at which point, according to the *Norton*’s periodization, the “Sixteenth Century” began. Among the many problems with this scheme is the fact that *Everyman* was only published nearly fifty years later: a footnote in the *Norton* concedes that “the earliest printing of the play” did not occur until “about 1530.” Could we know the play better if we were to set aside the *Norton*’s framing commentary and its assumptions? What do we see if we return to the artifact itself?

The earliest title-page we have for *Everyman*, from an undated quarto printed in the mid-1520s and now in the Huntington Library, demonstrably belongs not to medieval England but to the European Renaissance (Figure 14.2). The

12 The outlier here is Erasmus, the nomadic Netherlander who saw himself as a world citizen, the “arch-Humanist” without a defined “circle,” who affiliated widely but formed no distinct group of Erasmians.

13 M.H. Abrams *et al.* (eds.), *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1962), p. 1.

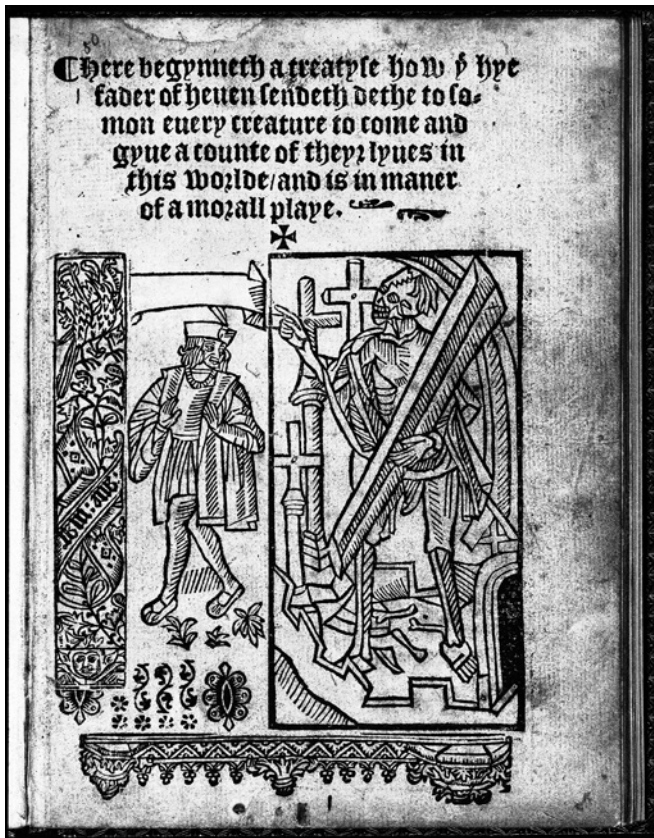


FIGURE 14.2 *Title-page to The Summoning of Everyman (London: John Skot, 1528?).*
REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, SAN
MARINO, CALIFORNIA.

composite woodcut gathers floral motifs around two blocks showing the figures of Everyman and Death, both of which are in fact copies of Continental works: the image of Death derives from a 1493 French shepherds' calendar, and that of Everyman from Antoine V  rard's *Therence en francois* (printed in Paris between 1499 and 1503). V  rard had copied the page composition, though not the fine engraving, of the first complete German edition of Terence's works, which was published by Johann Gr  ninger in Strasbourg in 1499 (or possibly of the Latin edition that Gr  ninger published in the same place and year).¹⁴ The French Terence mimicked Gr  ninger in supplying a tableau of major characters,

14 See Clifford Davidson, 'Of Woodcut and Play', *EDAM Newsletter*, 3 (1981), p. 15, and Mary Beth Winn *Antoine V  rard: Parisian Publisher, 1485–1512* (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1997), p. 128. In the same year as his Latin edition, 1499, Gr  ninger's German Terence appeared;

standing beneath named scrolls, at the start of each drama. The woodblock depicting Pamphilius, the *adulescens* from the *Andria*, was appealing or merely handy to the English printer John Skot. On the title of his quarto edition of *Everyman*, Skot has erased the name of Pamphilius, but hasn't yet substituted the name of Everyman, as he would do in the next edition (c.1530). Given the alignment of the woodcut blocks, the result is that the finger of Death appears to point at the blank scroll, as though marking a placeholder for book art in transit.

Like its illustrations, the text of *Everyman* (the earliest surviving fragments of which date to 1518–19) is less easily fixed in place or period than at first appears. I am not referring to the deep source of everyman narratives in the Buddhist parable of the false friends that appeared in Iranian, Arabic, and Georgian before passing to the Christian West through the *Golden Legend* as the tale of Barlaam and Josaphat.¹⁵ At issue is a closer and more contested textual analogue in dramatic form. Here are the opening pages of the Flemish play *Den Spiegel der Salicheit van Elckerlijc* [*The Mirror of Every Man's Salvation*], which was composed as early as 1477 and first published in the mid-1490s; this image shows the title page of the 1500 edition, printed in Antwerp by Govaert Bac (Figure 14.3).

The single-block woodcut on the left shows Death about to stab a man with a spear.¹⁶ The Dutch text on the right, meanwhile, announces “*een schoone boecxken, ghemaect in den maniere van eenen speele ofte esbatement op Elckerlijc mensche*” (“a handsome little book made in the fashion of a play or entertainment about every human being”) and sets out a speech in which God looks down from heaven to deplore the avarice of his sinful creatures. Though *Elckerlijc* lacks the famous prologue to *Everyman*, from God's speech on the plays are substantially equivalent. They are clearly siblings – but which was born first? Anglo-American critics fretted over this issue of textual priority throughout the twentieth century, even though the question had been solved in 1939, when analysis revealed Dutch rhymes embedded in the English lines; later scholarship added places where the English version misconstrued a

this was the first translation of the complete Terence into German prose, Hans Nythart's version of *Eunuchus* alone having appeared in 1486.

15 For a literary history of the theme, see John Conley, “The Doctrine of Friendship in *Everyman*,” *Speculum*, 44 (1969), pp. 374–382. The key passage from William Caxton's 1493 translation of the *Golden Legend* story is reproduced in Clifford Davidson, Martin W. Walsh, and Ton J. Broos (eds.), *Everyman and its Dutch Original, Elckerlijc*, (Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), pp. 97–98.

16 In the text of *Everyman*, by contrast, although Death says “He that loveth riches I will strike with my dart” (p. 76), the right-hand woodcut block on the title page shows him holding a tomb cover instead.

Dutch word based on its sound.¹⁷ It was not until 2009 that the Arden edition of *Everyman* managed to admit that “it is not really English. It is a translation, with some changes, of a Dutch play.”¹⁸

Now admitting this does not imply that we should somehow repatriate the play; *Everyman* is not the Elgin Marbles. It should, however, prompt us to reconceive of the English text as one node in a widely distributed network that ‘the play’ more properly designates. The task demands attention to local specificity no less than transcultural exchange, and in the case of earlier drama, where few details of individual writers and actors survive, going local means exploring genres and the institutions shaping them. Here *Elckerlijc* has much

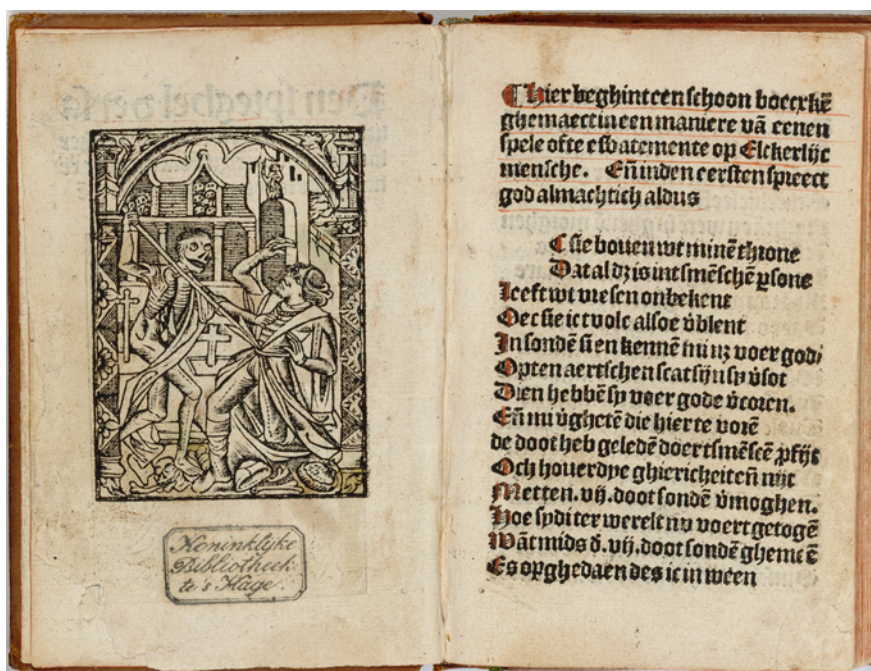


FIGURE 14.3 Opening pages to *Den spiegel der salicheit van Elckerlijc* (Antwerp: Govaert Bac, c. 1500).

REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE.

17 See E.R. Tigg, 'Is *Elckerlijc* prior to *Everyman*?', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 38 (1939), pp. 568–596; and John Conley, 'Aural Error in *Everyman*', *Notes and Queries*, 22 (1975), pp. 244–245.

18 Douglas Bruster and Eric Rasmussen (eds.), *Everyman and Mankind* (London, Methuen, 2009), p. 61.

to teach us. Whereas the English translation puzzlingly declares itself “a morall playe” – a unique coinage not expanded to ‘morality play’ until the eighteenth century – the words “*speele ofte esbatement*” place the Dutch drama squarely in the world of the *Rederijkerskamers* or Chambers of Rhetoric, the cultural societies whose activities included staging plays in regional competitions.¹⁹ Among their standard genres were allegory (the *spel van zinnen* or *zinnespel*) and shorter farce (*esbattement*), but what *Elckerlijc*’s title shows is that those kinds of drama could be grafted to create something new: a lesson in Christian living animated by the spark of everyday life.²⁰ This innovation could be readily transposed across a network of Northern European institutions including grammar schools, artisanal guilds and, ultimately, national theatres; in turn, the play’s easy adaptability did its part to ensure the network’s flourishing.

At this point we are ready to ask the first group of the ancient rhetorical questions: *Quis, quid, ubi*: Who translated what drama and where? Applied to the *Elckerlijc* network, the questions would typically generate an answer resembling the table below:

TABLE 14.2 *The Elckerlijc network*

1496	Delft	<i>Elckerlijc</i>	Anon.	Dutch
1518	London	<i>Everyman</i>	Anon.	English
1536	Cologne	<i>Homulus</i>	Ischyrius	Latin
1539	Antwerp	<i>Hecastus</i>	Macropedius	Latin
1539	Cologne	<i>Homulus</i>	von Gennep	German
1540	Ingolstadt	<i>Mercator</i>	Naogeorgus	Latin
1549	Nuremberg	<i>Hecastus</i>	Sachs	German
1552	Nuremberg	<i>Hecastus</i>	Rappolt	German
1556	Nijmegen	<i>Homulus</i>	Anon.	Dutch

19 A brief account in English of the Chambers of Rhetoric can be found in Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé’s introduction to *Urban Theatre in the Low Countries, 1400–1625* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006). Major histories of the *rederijkers* have recently appeared in Dutch: on the Southern Netherlands, Anne-Laure Van Bruaene’s *Om beters wille: rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2008); and on the North, Arjan van Dixhoorn’s *Lustige Geesten: rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2009).

20 For useful commentary in German on these and related terms, accompanied by an *en face* German translation, see Clara Strijbosch und Ulrike Zellmann (eds.), *Elckerlijc* (Münster, Agenda Verlag, 2013).

This table is a mere sample. It lists only nine items, the last seven of which represent two decades on a timeline that spans centuries. (An extension would list a profusion of translations in the 1560s and 1580s and 1590s, including into Swedish and Danish.) All the same, the sample bears out some general observations. Geographically, the network extends around the North Sea, from the Thames to the Danube and from the Scheldt to the Baltic. The dramatic titles it connects, abbreviated here, signal various subnetworks indebted to Greek (*Hecastus* means “each man”) or Latin (*Homulus* depicts any “frail human being” as *Mercator* generalizes “the merchant”). That said, the humanist versions share their short titles with vernacular renderings, indicating traffic between school or university drama and popular theatres. Von Gennep’s 1539 text, for instance, compiles parts of the Dutch *Elckerlijc*, the Latin *Homulus* and *Hecastus*, and two unrelated German plays; von Gennep was a successful printer in Cologne and therefore able to publish Latin and German versions of his work as well as an extensive revision a decade later. Each of these texts is what the Arden *Everyman* would call “a translation, with some changes,” a phrase that seems a tautology – especially as regards drama – until one concedes that some changes strike the very core of the work. Here no event in the play’s life cycle was more decisive than the Reformation: in 1536, for example, the Catholic Maastricht headmaster Ischyrius (Christian Stercken) had his *Everyman* pray to the Virgin Mary and confess to a priest, but four years later the Lutheran pastor Naogeorgus (Thomas Kirchmeyer) aggressively recast the play as the salvation of a merchant from the misguided counsel of a prince, a Catholic bishop, and a Franciscan friar.

Yet in attempting to grasp such metamorphoses, we will find lists of dates, places, and names of limited use. The toughest rhetorical question remains *quid*. What is being translated into what? What is lost, retained, or added? Where does translation end and adaptation begin? Does drama engage these operations in a unique way? One strategy is to approach the *quid* via the *quomodo*, the what by means of the how. We need to extend our account of the networks of drama translation beyond the printing of texts into other ways in which plays have become public, reaching across cultures and up to our time.

Platform

Tracking early modern plays as they have been translated across the North European media ecology requires attention to their metamorphoses through performance no less than through print. Such an exercise might start by

configuring a network of actors and stages and then layering it over a network of authors and presses, looking for how the processes of writing and embodiment – and the interactions between them – change as theatre moves from one cultural environment to another. In doing so, it is helpful to conceive of theatre not as a fixed institution but instead as a fluid medium, and plays as events that materialize on page or stage whenever and wherever a network connection is made. For a provocative comparison to theatrical mobility through translation, we may turn to the argot of computer engineering, where the term *platform* designates a place to launch software, and architecture like the mobile web is described as a “cross-platform medium.”²¹ By a process resembling twenty-first-century cross-platform “porting” across media environments, acts of translation once changed and still change early modern plays so as to render them freshly usable by new readers and audiences. This section of the chapter maps out specific zones in the North European theatrical ecosystem and then asks how we can best describe plays’ movement and metamorphoses across those zones.

There is ample evidence of cross-platform portability in the *Elckerlijc* network, from Latin versions designed for sixteenth-century Dutch classrooms to the *Jedermann* inspired by William Poel’s Victorian *Everyman*, translated by Hugo von Hoffmansthal and performed each year since 1920 in the cathedral square in Salzburg, Austria.²² But the stakes of translating across platforms may be clearest around the turn of the seventeenth century, when performance acquired new bandwidth as a channel for theatre in the form of itinerant companies linking disparate parts of the North Sea world. This will be our prime example of how adding a platform changes a network. First, however, I must note an institutional difference between humanist print culture around 1550 and the world of vernacular performance around 1600. Halfway though the sixteenth century, the elites of Northern Europe were still somewhat developmentally matched, with the result that the Netherlandish dramatist Macropedius (Joris van Lanckvelt) could rely on circuits established by his

21 These technical terms have not yet been engaged by new media studies, much less cultural history, and my use of them here is experimental. For their industry use, see manuals such as James Pearce, *Professional Mobile Web Development* (Indianapolis, Wiley Publishing, 2011), p. 33.

22 The vast bibliography on the subject begins with the texts in Helmut Wiemken, *Vom Sterben des reichen Mannes* (Bremen, Schünemann, 1965) and includes the major exhibition catalog *Jedermann in Europa: vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Salzburg, Max Reinhardt-Forschungs-und Gedenkstätte, 1979).

bestselling rhetorical textbooks to market his plays in Latin and various translations.²³ Fifty years later, by contrast, school drama was on the decline, and the age of the professional actor was dawning – though not at the same pace across the Continent. For a preliminary snapshot of that uneven development, one need only consider the following list of the first permanent commercial theatres in Northern European cities:

TABLE 14.3 *City theatres in Northern Europe*

1576	London	Theatre
1637	Amsterdam	Schouwburg
1661	Antwerp	Almoners'
1709	Vienna	Kärntnertor
1767	Hamburg	National

This table follows a timeline from England through Holland, Flanders, present-day Austria, and present-day Germany. Set alongside England's more traditional comparators of Italy, Spain, and France, it presents a widely spaced sequence of cultural delays, and on a first impression it might even lead one to imagine that around 1600 there was, at least as yet, only a meagre theatre culture in the Dutch- and German-speaking lands.

Such an impression would be mistaken, since the table omits major features of the theatre world outside the establishment of purpose-built structures furnished with resident companies. The range is considerable. The present chapter can only note in passing the use of existing buildings by amateurs (the halls or churches used by the *Meistersinger*) or professionals (London inn-yards or provincial great houses) as well as the occasional construction of temporary stages (for competitions among *Rederijkers*, or pageants to honour visiting dignitaries). More germane to this chapter's transnational focus are the itinerant companies, in particular those known as the "English Comedians," only two of whose trajectories are plotted on the following map (Figure 14.4).

23 Peter Mack notes that his *Methodus de conscribendis epistolis* (1543) was printed 32 times up to 1649, including in Antwerp, Cologne, and London; see *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 250. For a broader account, see *Georgius Macropedius, 1487–1558: leven en werken van een Brabantse humanist* (Tilburg, Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 2005).

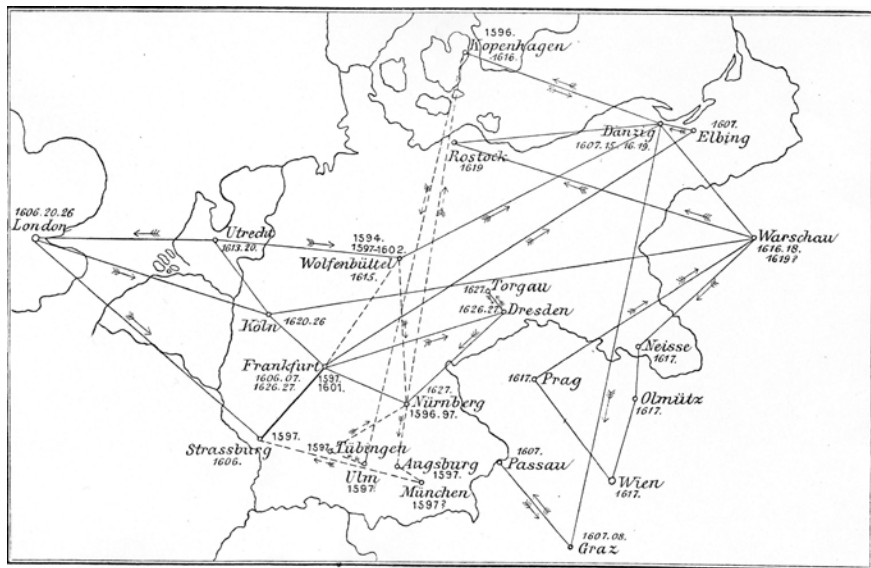


FIGURE 14.4 *Theatre routes: John Green's troupe (steady line), Thomas Sackville's (broken line), and shared (bold). From Emil Herz, Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland. HAMBURG AND LEIPZIG: LEOPOLD VOSS, 1903.*

From London to Warsaw, and from Copenhagen to Graz, these vectors describe a field of activity whose breadth and dynamism invalidates a first impression of Northern Europe's theatrical scarcity. Even more than the ephemeral stages, these traveling players themselves represent a kind of now-invisible platform for drama – and one adapted specially for the work of translation.

But what exactly does translation mean in this context? The question confronts us with an ambiguity specific to English vocabulary. In English, the verb *to translate* functions either as a superordinate term for all linguistic mediation or as a subordinate one restricted to its textual form; in the latter sense, *translating* is typically opposed to *interpreting*.²⁴ To complicate matters, the term is easily broadened to describe a shift not simply between languages but between cultures (sometimes called 'cultural translation'), discernible in

24 To grasp this problem in its European context, see the entry on 'To Translate' in *Dictionary of untranslatables: a philosophical lexicon*, original Barbara Cassin (ed.), and Emily Apter, Jacques Lezra, and Michael Wood (English translation eds.) (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 1139–1155.

processes of *adaptation*. In what follows, I set out how the cross-platform medium of itinerant theatre produced a surge in three interconnected forms of mediation: embodied interpreting, manuscript and print translation, and cultural adaptation.

Who, first of all, were the intermediaries? The so-called English Comedians used an international brand that lost accuracy as the companies hired foreign players.²⁵ By the seventeenth century, while managers were often English, most troupes active on the Continent were mixed. Players could either keep the lucrative association with England or adopt the name of the country they were in or had passed through: having traveled to Germany via the Low Countries, for instance, the same company could style itself “*englische*”, “*niederländische*”, or “*hochdeutsche Komödianten*”. Contemporaries described the troupes as hybrids – “comedians from England and the Netherlands” or “English and Cologne comedians” – and the same holds true for the language, or rather languages, of their performances. In the 1580s and 1590s these still relied on English, leading Fynes Moryson to sneer that “the people not understanding what [the players] said, followed them only for their action.”²⁶ Soon, however, the actors found a way to bridge the divide, and by 1602 a troupe visiting Münster performed “on five successive days five different comedies in their English tongue” but “were accompanied by a clown, who, when a new act had to commence and when they had to change their costume, performed many antics and pranks in German during the performance, which amused the audience.”²⁷ (The episode is hardly unusual: five years later, in the first Shakespeare recorded outside Europe, an English ship off the coast of Sierra Leone staged *Hamlet*, with an African guest providing running translation in Portuguese and perhaps Temne.)²⁸ Like the jigs admired by the same Münster chronicler, the clown’s improvisations seem to have both summarized and satirized the play, playing along a continuum between the loose patter of a modern sports commentator and the precision of a trained interpreter.

25 For an extended treatment from which the following paragraph is drawn, see Anston Bosman, ‘Renaissance Intertheater and the Staging of Nobody’, *ELH*, 71 (2004), pp. 559–585.

26 Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare’s Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary*, Charles Hughes (ed.), (New York, Benjamin Blom, 1967), p. 373.

27 Albert Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, Asher & Co., 1865), pp. cxxxiv–cxxxv.

28 See Gary Taylor, ‘Hamlet in Africa 1607’, in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *Travel knowledge: European “discoveries” in the early modern period* (New York, Palgrave, 2001), pp. 223–248.

Here the traveling players resemble something like a mobile laboratory for the translation of drama, live and in real time, with the clown as their principal investigator. Whereas an ethnographer might plot their travel as a zone of contact between cultures, a sociologist would be more likely to see the actors as a class of trained intermediaries. Anthony Pym, for instance, includes translators among the expert communities that he calls “professional intercultural”; this insight allows us to grasp the rise in theatrical mobility from the 1580s in terms of the development of specialists in cross-cultural communication whose work was most successful precisely where it is now hardest to spot.²⁹ (The work of these go-betweens makes up the medial repertory and archive I have elsewhere defined as “intertheatre.”) The analogy with the present day is imperfect – early modern interpreters had neither a translation school nor a transcription service – but it affirms the skillful, not to say laborious, agency of players across cultural divides.

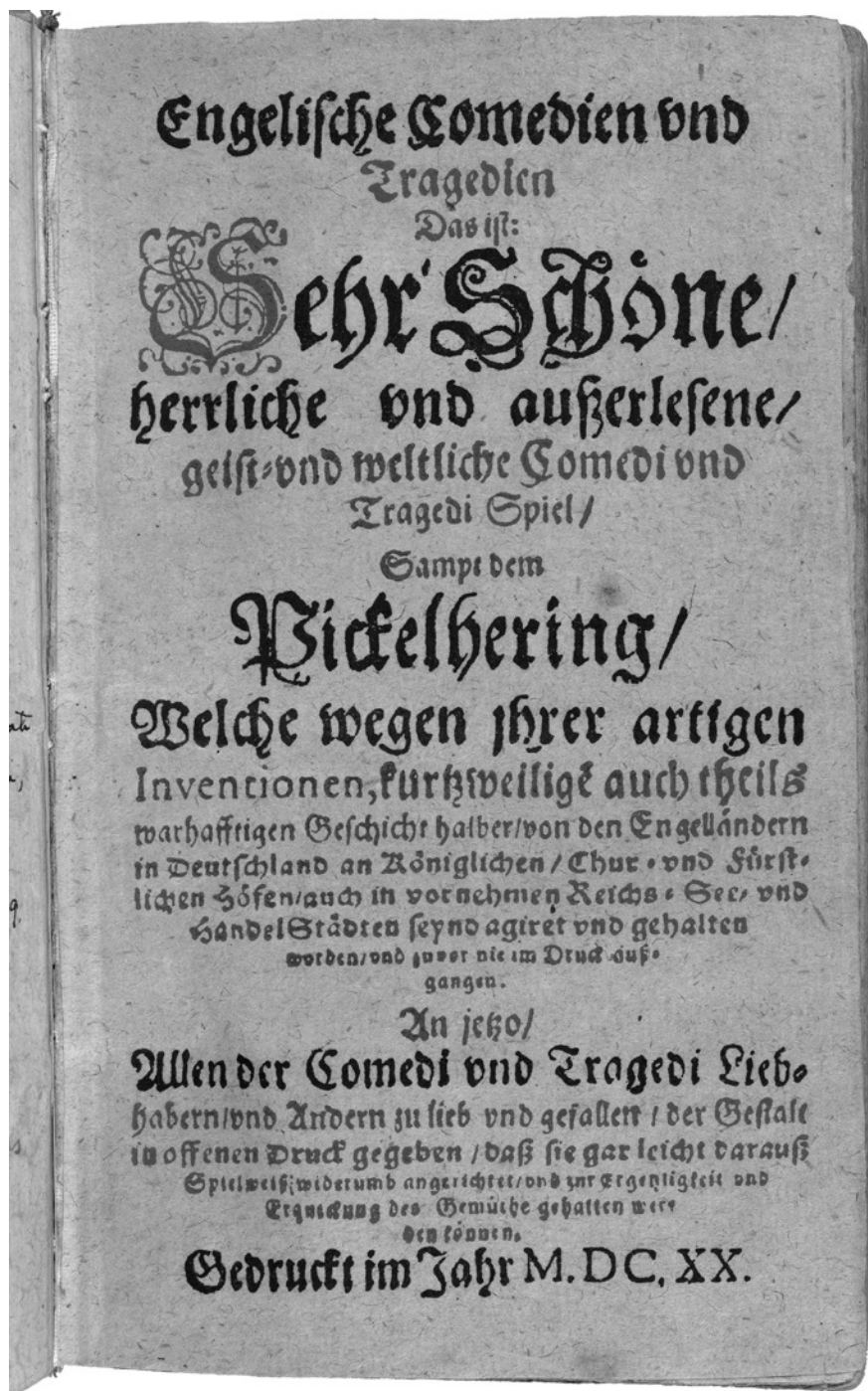
Some clues to those developments persist in plays that crossed platforms from performance to manuscript or print, especially in a set of volumes published in Leipzig from 1620 to 1670. Here is the title page of volume one.

In English it reads thus:

English Comedies and Tragedies, that is, Very beautiful, excellent and select, sacred and worldly comic and tragic plays, together with Pickle-herring, which on account of their fanciful inventions, entertaining and partly true stories, have been acted and presented by the English in Germany at royal, electoral and princely courts, as well as in the foremost imperial, coastal and commercial towns; never before printed, but now published to please all lovers of comedies and tragedies [...] in such a manner as to be easily performed in turn, ...presented for the delight and invigoration of the spirit.

The page exhibits translation in the age of the actor rather than the author. Its typography clearly marks the book's selling points: English plays; very beautiful; and Pickle-herring. No writer, translator, editor or publisher is named; all that matters is recording past performances and scripting future ones. The texts collected are of three types: eight full dramas, with uncredited English or German sources (including Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and Shakespeare's *Titus*

29 Pym introduced the idea of “professional intercultural” in *Method in Translation History* (Manchester, St. Jerome, 1998) and has steadily refined it, summarizing his argument alongside those of others in *Exploring Translation Theories* (New York, Routledge, 2010), pp. 152–153.

FIGURE 14.5 Title-page to *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien* (1620).

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Andronicus); a couple of two-act farces; and five verse interludes with music. All three types feature Pickle-herring, a clown descended from the Münster interpreter who developed into the star attraction of the transnational itinerant companies. I have written elsewhere about the cosmopolitan origins of this virtuoso figure, but here I want to signal his importance as a vehicle for translation across platforms.³⁰ On the one hand, the 1620 volume's farces labeled "*Pickelherings Spiele*" record improvised clowning that, like Italian *lazzi*, could be inserted into dramas of many genres; on the other hand, the verse interludes labeled "*Engelische Aufzüge*" form the kernel of a new genre – a German derivation of the English jig. Under the name *Singspiel*, it culminated in Vienna around 1800 with operas like *The Magic Flute* and *Fidelio*. Thus did translation of performance into text shade into cultural adaptation.

Yet we need not stretch all the way from Pickleherring to Papageno to grasp the systemic changes wrought by early modern platform portability. The artistic patron and playwright Heinrich Julius, Duke of Brunswick, who brought English players to his court at Wolfenbüttel starting in 1592, altered his own dramaturgy as a result of their engagements. Consider the title page of an early play based on the biblical story of Susanna and the Elders (Figure 14.6).³¹ *Susanna* is billed as a tragicomedy by HIBELDEHA, an abbreviation of *Henricus Iulius Dux Brunsvicensis Et Luneburgensis Episcopus Halberstadensis*, and boasts an impracticable *dramatis personae* of 34 characters; in a modern edition, the text is 170 pages long. After the players frequented his court, however, the Duke published a revision, pruning his *Susanna* down to 38 pages with 21 roles. This is drama rewritten not just in the style of the English Comedians, but directly *for* them, and the rewrite bears all the hallmarks of North European transcultural theatre: prose form; a didactic orientation, and

30 See Anston Bosman 'History Between Theatres', in Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (eds.), *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 191–207. Recently, M.A. Katritzky has argued for a different origin story in "A plague o' these pickle herring": from London drinkers to European stage clown', in Martin Procházka, Michael Dobson, Andreas Höfele and Hanna Scholnicov (eds.), *Renaissance Shakespeare: Shakespearean Renaissances. Proceedings of the Ninth World Shakespeare Congress* (Newark & Lanham, University of Delaware Press and Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), pp. 159–168.

31 Typically for North European drama, the chain of interlingual translations is long: Heinrich Julius based his play on the neo-Latin *Susanna* (1577) by Nicodemus Frischlin as translated into German (1589) by his brother Jakob Frischlin. See Ralf Haekel, *Die Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland* (Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004), p. 143, and Cora Dietl, 'Neo-Latin Humanist and Protestant Drama in Germany', in Jan Bloemendal and Howard Norland (eds.), *Neo-Latin Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013), pp. 167–169.

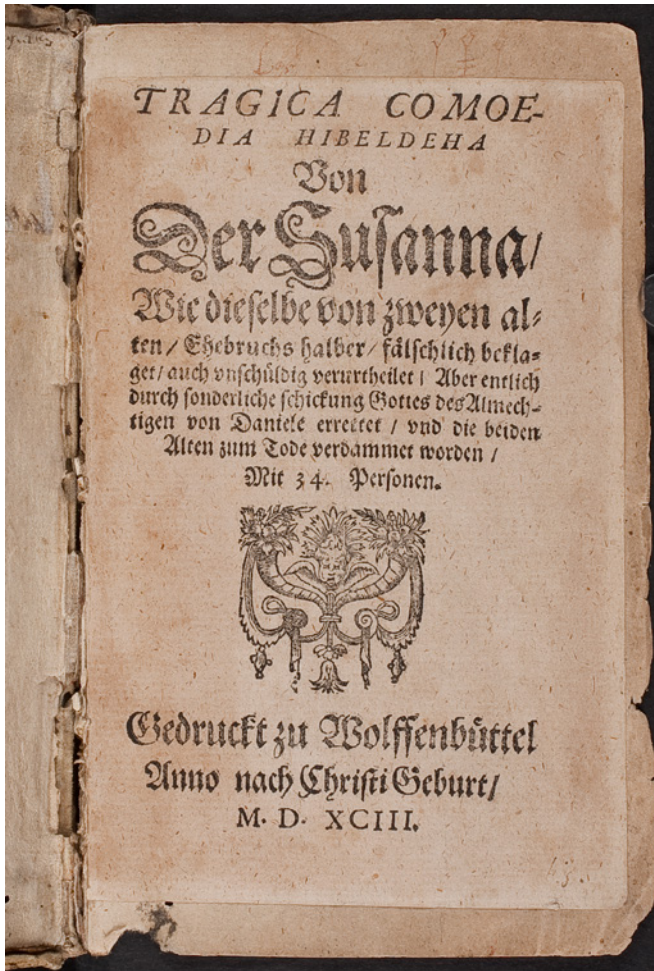


FIGURE 14.6 *Title-page to Tragica Comoedia Hibeldeha Von Der Susanna* (Wolfenbüttel: Horn, 1593).

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BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL.

a key role for the clown, here Johan Bouschet (John Posset), the creation of the peripatetic Thomas Sackville. The Duke's adaptation torques every aspect of his earlier play, from language to character to moral purpose.³² Since,

32 On the revision, see Ralf Haekel, 'Zum Verhältnis von Theaterpraxis und Drama in der Frühen Neuzeit. Heinrich Julius' *Susanna* und die Englischen Komödianten', *Zeitsprünge*, 4 (2000), pp. 163–180.

moreover, he published his dramas in the new style some two decades before the *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*, his work may have influenced the translation and printing of the texts in that volume, in turn shaping the repertoire of the German itinerant theatre or *Wanderbühne* that continued to flourish well into the eighteenth century.

Applications

The ambivalence of Heinrich Julius's revision, at once honing the message and licensing the clown, represents a constitutive tension in the purpose of drama, and one exacerbated by translation, which also both asserts control and celebrates play. For these reasons the rhetorical question *cur* – what was the point of translating early modern drama? – is bound to generate answers that are multiple and contradictory. This said, we can distinguish between universalizing and particularizing functions, in other words, between translations that attempt to replicate a given effect across cultural boundaries and translations foregrounding the specificity of a new context. In the discourse of the network and its platforms, these functions may be described as *applications* – ideas and mechanisms within plays whose value to playwrights, readers and audiences justifies dramatic *imitatio* in its continuity and innovation. We have already touched on some of early drama's 'killer apps', beginning with the simple but dazzling concept of a play centered on *Elckerlijc*, which is to say everybody, which is to say *you*.³³ The genius of the allegory was that it retained its symbolic capital even as it shifted from one linguistic, geographical or confessional environment to another. In time, humanist pedagogy made use of such texts to craft a cosmopolitan elite by translating them from vernaculars *into* Latin, a powerful move we now tend to neglect or associate only with works of religion or science. When moving between vernaculars, artistic patrons across the Continent engaged touring companies not merely for diversion or cachet but to develop an indigenous theatre that could serve to communicate their social programs or theological ideas in performance and print. Needless to say, attempts at subjectification of this type have always been resisted by sinners, schoolboys, and spectators; what matters for the present inquiry is that *plays* could now become an important arena for that struggle.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the applications of early modern drama seemed no longer translatable, because the territories of

33 For an influential deployment of the term 'killer apps' in cultural history, see Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (New York, Penguin, 2011).

Northern Europe that had once been robustly linked now found themselves radically disconnected. The year 1648 was a watershed. On the Continent, the Eighty Years' War and Thirty Years' War were ended almost at once, though with very different results. In May, the Dutch Republic separated from Spain and the Hapsburg Netherlands, gaining the East and West India Companies and becoming a world power. In October, by contrast, the treaties signed by the Holy Roman Emperor, France, Sweden, and their respective allies left the German lands fragmented and impoverished. In the new political order of state-formation and nation-building, later to be called Westphalian sovereignty, there were already winners and losers. Across the Channel, meanwhile, the Second Civil War began in February; by year's end, Charles the First was in Windsor awaiting trial.

A glance at theatre history of the same period likewise reveals profound discrepancies between regions. England's playhouses had been closed for six years and would remain so for another twelve. In German-speaking areas the strolling troupes, no longer international in membership, were still a century away from securing an institutional home. Only in Holland was the stage flourishing, with the plays of Joost van den Vondel, G.A. Bredero, and P.C. Hooft triumphant at the decade-old Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg, and editions of dramas in print only months after their theatrical run. Thus 1648 saw the publication of a new version of *Medea* by Jan Six, premiered the year before.³⁴ An exemplary figure of the Golden Age elite, Six was equally well connected in political and cultural circles: he practiced law and rose to be mayor of Amsterdam, but he was also close to poets and had the frontispiece to his *Medea* etched by his friend and beneficiary Rembrandt van Rijn.³⁵ In sum, with Dutch, German, and English culture facing divergent and uncertain futures, it would appear that the era of dramatic and theatrical collaboration had come to a close.

Yet a closer look reveals greater mobility and more imitation than might be expected. Joost van den Vondel, whose masterpiece of national mythology *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* was the opening production of the Schouwburg in 1637, was born in Cologne and attended school there in Dutch and German; he later perfected his Latin and acquired Greek by engaging an English tutor. Vondel translated into Dutch not only Sophocles and Seneca but also the neo-Latin plays of his friend Hugo Grotius, some of which were original compositions

34 Jan Six, *Medea: treurspel* (Amsterdam, A. de Wees and J. Lescaille, 1648).

35 See R.L. Erenstein *et al.* (eds.), *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden: tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1996), pp. 226–233.

and others translations from the Greek. A more rivalrous note was struck when Vondel emulated a century-old tragedy by the Scottish dramatist George Buchanan: the Dutchman's foreword to the text of *Jeptha* (1659), which depicted the story of Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter, claimed to have outstripped Buchanan's neo-Latin *Jephtes sive votum* (1554) by bringing it closer in line with the requirements of both classical and Christian dramaturgy.³⁶ Vondel firmly announces his play as a model for the implementation of *peripeteia*, *anagnorisis* and *catharsis* – Aristotle's mobile apps, we might call them, translated for Dutch modernity.³⁷

A comparable tension between autonomy and interdependence characterizes the work of a Baroque dramatist who likely sat in Vondel's Schouwburg audience and with whom this chapter concludes. In 1648 the polymath Andreas Gryphius had just returned to his native Silesia after studying abroad at Leiden, where spent six years studying law, publishing poetry, and immersing himself in Dutch theatre. His first dramatic work – performed though not published in his lifetime – was *Die Sieben Brüder*, a close translation of Vondel's popular *Gebroeders* (1640) to which Gryphius added copious stage directions, a strong indication he had seen it onstage. Although he translated plays from classical and modern Latin as well as Italian and French, Gryphius remained indebted to Vondel even as he surpassed him in range. On the one hand, he made popular comedy in the line of the traveling companies; in the most famous of these, *Absurda Comica Oder Herr Peter Squenz*, a group of artisans learn that the King will be visiting their village and so decide to perform *Pyramus and Thisbe* from what they wonderfully call the *Memoriumphosis* of Ovid. The preface claims to be reworking a lost play by a contemporary, but the *dramatis personae* makes clear the link to Shakespeare's *Dream* as it was adapted intertheatrically: "Peter Squentz" translates Peter Quince, bully Bottom has become "Meister Bulla Butän," and Pickelhäring plays the King's fool and Pyramus.

On the other hand, Gryphius was also working to establish what he intended to be a high tradition of German drama. His portrayal of Byzantine tyranny and revolution in the historical tragedy *Leo Arminius* (written in 1646 and

36 Joost van den Vondel, *Jeptha; of, Offerbelofte: treurspel*. (Amsterdam, A. de Wees, 1659), sig. A3.

37 On Vondel's use of Aristotle, see J.W.H. Konst, *Woedende wraakghierigheidt en vruchteloze weeklachten: de hartstochten in de Nederlandse tragedie van de zeventiende eeuw* (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1993), pp. 188–202. In general, moreover, the coercive power of Aristotle's dramaturgical 'elements,' as they are blandly termed, bears comparison with the effects of mobile devices and applications on 'users' (perhaps better described as the 'used'). See Dimitrios Raptis *et al.*, 'Studying the effect of perceived hedonic mobile device quality on user experience evaluations of mobile applications', *Behaviour & Information Technology*, 32 (2013), pp. 1–12.

published in 1650) retained the basic form of the neo-Latin play *Leo Armenus* by the English Jesuit Emmanuel Lobb, alias Joseph Simons, but Gryphius altered the moral of Lobb's drama by emphasizing salvation over punishment – replacing, as a critic puts it, justice with justification.³⁸ In his adaptation's preface to the reader, Gryphius argues forcefully for writing in German and remaining independent of foreign models. Yet the very terms he uses to declare that independence disclose the persistence of the ecology in which he seeks to carve out a niche. "This play," he writes, "is not based on Sophocles or Seneca, but belongs to us. Someone else might strip the names from the inventions of foreigners and substitute their own!"³⁹ Condemning such practices, Gryphius seals his case with the following couplet:

*Das Hauß ist zwar nicht groß: doch kenn't es mich allein:
Es kostet Frembde nichts: es ist nur rein und mein.*

It is more likely that Italianists rather than Germanists – specialists of the South rather than the North – will recognize these lines, which are, of course, a translation. They render into German the graceful Latin epigram that Ariosto had inscribed across the façade of his house in Ferrara: "*Parva sed apta mihi. Sed nulli obnoxia, sed non / Sordida; parta meo sed tamen aere domus*".⁴⁰ The obvious irony here is that Gryphius is extolling originality by using borrowed words. The subtler irony is that too many of the works of Gryphius, like those of other North European writers and actors cited in this chapter, now risk becoming isolated and thus appearing falsely pristine, "*nur rein und mein*". But if we care to learn how ideas have spread across cultures through print and performance, we should not allow these works to be "lost in untranslation".⁴¹ They are time-capsules of a bravura media ecology that historians ought to celebrate and restore.

38 James A. Parente, Jr., *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1987), p. 186.

39 "This house may not be great, yet it is mine alone; It owes no stranger debts, it's clean and is my own." Translation mine. The original reads: "*Welcher / da er nicht von dem Sophocles oder dem Seneca auffgesetzt / doch unser ist. Ein ander mag von der Außlaender Erfindungen den Nahmen wegreissen und den seinen darvor setzen!*" Andreas Gryphius, *Dramen*, Eberhard Mannack (ed.), (Frankfurt, Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1991), p. 13.

40 "It may be small but it suits me; it is neither offensive nor ugly and I paid for it with my own money." English translation from Dennis Looney (ed.), *"My muse will have a story to paint": selected prose of Ludovico Ariosto* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2010), p. 3.

41 Peter Burke uses this phrase in *Lost (and found) in translation: a cultural history of translators and translating in early modern Europe* (Wassenaar, NIAS, 2005), p. 8.

« *Catullum Numquam Antea Lectum* [...] *Lego* »: A Short Analysis of Catullus' Fortune in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Alina Laura de Luca

The *Liber Catulli Veronensis* has a mysterious history full of twists and turns, chance discoveries and sudden disappearances, avid attempts at correction and of convictions for obscenity. We know that it had an enormous and immediate popularity among poets of the 'Golden Age' and was read and discussed from the second to the fourth century.¹ However, the study and discussion of Catullus in the Middle Ages have left only a few traces. He is mentioned two or three times and he is not listed in the manuscript catalogues of monastic libraries during the Carolingian age; whereas in the same period we witness a multiplication of copies of Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Juvenal. Nevertheless, there is evidence that Catullus was being read in France and northern Italy: in the late ninth century poem 62 was included in a florilegium;² in 966 Raterio, Bishop of Verona, was reading Catullus, as he says in one of his sermons: "I read Catullus that has never been accessed before".³ However, the *Liber* soon disappeared, or more probably it lay undisturbed in the Chapter Library of Verona throughout most of the Middle Ages.⁴

- 1 The modern study of Kenneth Quinn, *The Catullan revolution* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1959), describes the impact that Catullus had on Roman poetry. Individual Catullan poems were admired and imitated by the Augustan poets, above all by elegists, and his popularity continued later with Martial, Pliny the Younger, Aulus Gellius and Pomponius. In the fourth century Nonius Marcellus, Aelius Donatus and Servius quoted single verses of Catullus.
- 2 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8071: it contains Cat. 62, various minor works and selections from Martial, Juvenal and Seneca's tragedies. The florilegium is referred to as 'T' after his sixteenth-century owner, Jacques-Auguste de Thou.
- 3 The text of Raterius runs as follows: *Quid de me dicere, quid valeo cogitare (et ut turpia subsidens honesta solum, prohibita licet, depromam), si in lege Dei, ut debitorem me fore non nescio die meditor et nocte, Catullum numquam antea lectum, Plautum quando iam olim lego neglectum, musicam quando saepe rogatus expono, cum nequeam (primo arithmetico scilicet cassatus auxilio)*, cf. Benny R. Reece (ed.), *Sermo de Maria et Martha* in *Sermones Ratherii episcopi Veronensis* (Worcester, Mass., Holy Cross College, 1969), p. 86.
- 4 The last medieval 'sighting' of Catullus is connected not with Italy or France but with Britain. Its echo is found in the twelfth-century *De gestis regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury.

Eventually, it came dramatically to light at the end of the thirteenth century. The date and the circumstances of its discovery are obscure, as is the identity of the finder. We only know that the discovery was commemorated by Benvenuto Campesani of Vicenza (d. 1323),⁵ with an enthusiastic but ambiguous epigram.⁶ However, the manuscript usually called *Veronensis deperditus* (v) disappeared again, but not before it had been copied at least twice: from these copies have descended our oldest Catullus codices.⁷

It seems that before its disappearance v was studied in Verona by several anthologists. Petrarch himself quoted or discussed Catullus several times; during the fifteenth century, Catullan verses were imitated and studied, and in the decade from 1472 to 1481 six editions were published; however Catullus, unlike Tibullus and Propertius, his companions in the 1472 *editio princeps*, still lacked a commentary.⁸ This was because of the confused text conditions: many of the poems were transmitted together and scholars disagreed on their separation; others were beset by corruptions that obscured their meaning.⁹

This is a problematic piece of evidence because William apparently never left England and there is no other evidence about a presence of Catullus in Britain before the fifteenth century.

- 5 Cf. Roberto Weiss, 'Benvenuto Campesani (1250/55-1323)', *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, XLIV (1955), pp. 129–144.
- 6 *Ad patriam venio longis a finibus exul; / causa mei reditus compatriota fuit, / scilicet a calamis tribuit cui Francia nomen / quique notat turbe pretereuntis iter. / Quo licet ingenio vestrum celebrate Catullum, / cuius sub modio clausa papyrus erat.* According to some scholars, Benvenuto's epigram contests the idea that the manuscript remained in Verona: after a period of distant exile Catullus returned to his homeland thanks to a fellow countryman. Others consider this unlikely: "*longis a finibus exul*" is a metaphorical expression and this idea is confirmed by the last pentameter where *sub modio clausa* means "in bushel", that is, "in a hidden place".
- 7 *Sangermanensis Parisinus 14137* (G); *Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicianus Latinus 30* (O). Apographs of a twin of G: *Vaticanus Ottobonianus Lat. 1829* (R); *Marcianus Venetus Latinus cl. XII, 80* (M).
- 8 By now regular companions of Catullus in the manuscripts, as well as the *Silvae* of Statius.
- 9 For example, the codex emended by Baptista Guarinus (1435–1505) probably before 1496 was corrupt and he published his results as a *nitidum et tersum opus*, according to Alexander's Guarinus Preface to his Catullan commentary. The exact date of Baptista Guarinus' emendations is unknown; neither manuscript or editions contains his name; as we know from several sources, Baptista presented the work to the city of Verona and it was finally published by his son, Alexander Guarinus, in his commentary aimed to preserve and explain his father's work; cf. A. Guarini *Ferrariensis expositiones in C.V. Catullum Veronensem per Baptistam patrem emendatum* (Venice, Georgium de Rusconibus, 1521).

The appearance of Avantius' Aldine edition in 1502 opened a new phase in Catullan scholarship, making the poet far more widely and more conveniently available than before. We possess annotated editions from this period, such as that of Puccius in Naples. In 1521–22 Pierius Valerianus lectured on Catullus at the University of Rome: he reviewed textual problems, handled metrical difficulties and discussed possible interpretations of the poems. The French poets Dolet, Macrin, and Bèze imitated *carmina* in their literary production. During the same century there appeared several commentaries on the *Liber* (Alexander Guarinus in 1521, Marcus Antonius Muretus in 1554, Achilles Statius in 1566, Joseph Justus Scaliger in 1577, to mention only the most important).¹⁰

Despite these various appearances of Catullus' poetry, we still possess only a few traces of translations. This fact is quite singular if we consider the relevance of translation as one of the main ways by which ancient texts have come down to us and, consequently, as one of the best means of measuring the survival of the classical authors in the modern age. Especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, translation was a very common practice pursued not only in the interest of dissemination of classical texts but, more often than not, also to compete with ancient authors: the moderns imitated the ancients and transformed their work into new texts.¹¹

10 Cf. respectively *A. Guarini Ferrariensis expositiones in C.V. Catullum Veronensem per Baptistam patrem emendatum* (Venice, Georgium de Rusconibus, 1521); *Catullus, et in eum commentarius M. Antonii Mureti ab eodem correcti, et scholiis illustrati, Tibullus, et Propertius* (Venice, [Paolo Manuzio], 1558): this is a republication of a 1554 edition *Catullus, et in eum commentarius M. Antonii Mureti* (Venice, apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi filium, 1554) – others would later appear in 1559 and in 1562, the first in Leiden, the second in Venice; *Catullus cum commentario Achillis Statii Lusitani* (Venice, in aedibus Manutianis, 1566); *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii noua editio*. Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. recensuit. Eiusdem in eosdem *Castigationum liber* (Paris, apud Mamertum Patissonium, in officina Stephani, 1577). For a more systematic and analytical exposition of Catullus' fortune see Julia H. Gaisser, 'Catullus, Gaius Valerius', in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, VII (Washington, DC, Catholic University of America Press, 1992), pp. 197–292, with further bibliography.

11 The set of theories and practices of translation in the sixteenth century is extremely complex and it would be reductive to condense into a few lines. Therefore, I refer to the related bibliography citing, among others, the studies that have contributed more closely to the writing of this paper: Luciana Borsetto, 'Riscrivere l'«historia», riscrivere lo stile. Il poema di Virgilio nelle «riduzioni» cinquecentesche di Lodovico Dolce' and 'Scrittura, riscrittura, tipografia: l'ufficio di tradurre di Lodovico Dolce dentro e fuori la stamperia giolitina', in *Il furto di Prometeo: imitazione, scrittura, riscrittura nel Rinascimento* (Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1990), pp. 223–255; 257–276; Bodo Guthmüller, 'Fausto da Longiano e il problema

For this reason, my study aims to investigate the reception of the *Liber Catulli Veronensis* in the European environment in terms of translation: I will consider Catullus' translations in Italy, France and England respectively, providing a few hypotheses about their rarity at this time.

Italy

To start with Italy, in the sixteenth century the translation was assiduously practiced as an art and studied in theory. For Catullus we know of only three versions, each of poem 64, the well-known *epillio* which recounts the sad events which happened to Ariadne during a celebration of the mythical wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The first translation seems to have been made by Luigi Alamanni. This version goes back to the juvenile stage of the literary production of the author, but we are unable to state the exact date of its composition. According to modern scholars, the work ought to be dated before 1522, when the writer was forced to flee quickly from Florence because of the Medici's repression. Alamanni's version, which was probably restricted to a limited circulation, and was perhaps overshadowed by the increased production of its author, was long unknown, with the exceptions of a citation by Claudio Tolomei, a contemporary of Alamanni,¹² and an approximate reference contained in eighteenth-century literary compilations.¹³

del tradurre', *Quaderni Veneti*, 12 (1990), pp. 9–56 and Idem, 'Letteratura nazionale e traduzione dei classici nel Cinquecento', *Lettere Italiane*, XLV (1993), pp. 501–518; Walter Romani, 'La traduzione letteraria nel Cinquecento', in Giuseppe Petronio (ed.), *La traduzione. Saggi e studi* (Trieste, Lint Edizioni, 1973), pp. 387–402; Ferruccio Ulivi, *L'imitazione nella poetica del Rinascimento* (Milan, Marzorati, 1959).

- 12 "I do not know if I like the shape of these verses 'loose' that many use to translate the heroic verse Greek and Latin, as they were used by Luigi Alamanni to translate the epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis of Catullus"; cf. Claudio Tolomei, *Sette libri di lettere* di Claudio Tolomei (Venice, Giolito de' Ferrari, 1565), c. 10b: «[...] io non so quanto mi piaccia la forma di questi versi sciolti li quali da molti s'usano per rappresentarsi il verso heroico Greco e Latino, così come furono usati già da M. Luigi Alamanni nel trasferir l'epitalamio di Peleo e di Tetide che fece Catullo».
- 13 We can see, for example, the compilation edited by Filippo Maria Argelati, *Biblioteca degli volgarizzatori, o sia Notizia dell'opere volgarizzate d'autori che scrissero in lingue morte prima del sec. xv*. Opera postuma del segretario Filippo Argelati bolognese (Milan, Federico Agnelli, 1767), pp. 200–202, that under the voice 'Catullus' quotes "The Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis of Catullus translated into Toscan loose verses by Luigi Alamanni" and in a corresponding note "He lies in his rhymes, and this translation is praised by Claudio Tolomei Lib. 1, p. 10, edition of the year 1550, by writing to Mark Antony Cinucci from Rome on 1th July 1543". Cf. p. 202: «l'*Epitalamio di Peleo, e di Tetide*, di Catullo, tradotto in Versi sciolti Toscani da Luigi Alamanni»; «Sta nelle sue rime, e viene

However, in 1884 it reappeared in a miscellaneous codex in the Gambalunga Library of Rimini¹⁴ and was published separately in 1888, although with uncertain attribution.¹⁵ This question and the material problems of the codex I have discussed elsewhere.¹⁶ In this paper I will focus briefly on the *modus vertendi* of Alamanni in order to show his originality. Alamanni used paraphrases and glosses, combinations of two or three synonyms against the single word of Latin, and relative clauses to explain adjectives and epithets. The result was an amplification of the source text: the original 408 hexameters were rendered in 580 hendecasyllables. In adherence to the Catullan text, however, Alamanni performed precise lexical choices, as it seems, in order to achieve greater semantic characterization.¹⁷ Where Catullus focuses on the *pathos* and elevates the style, Alamanni makes careful choices both in terms of word selection and formal word order. One of the most significant examples comes in the *ecphrasis*, namely the verses where Catullus gives voice to Ariadne, to her misadventures and passions, and to the recollection of Theseus' deeds. In particular, in the verses below, Ariadne expresses the vanity of her complaints: (C 164–166=A 86–9 [234–6]):

<i>sed quid ego ignaris nequiquam</i>	Ma che pur mi dolgo io semplice in darno
<i>conquerar auris,</i>	
<i>exsternata malo, quae nullis sensibus</i>	Con l'aure sorde ch'ei sospiri ei pianti
<i>auctae</i>	
<i>nec missas audire queunt nec reddere</i>	Lassa, ascoltar non ponno o render voci?
<i>voces?</i>	

questa Traduzione lodata da Claudio Tolomeo Lib. 1, pag. 10, dell'edizione dell'anno 1550, scrivendo a Marc'Antonio Cinucci di Roma al primo di Luglio 1543».

14 Luigi Alamanni, *Epithalamio di Catullo*, Rimini, Biblioteca Gambalunga, SC-MS 162.

15 Attilio Tambellini, *Epitalamio di Peleo e Teti, manoscritto esistente nella Biblioteca Gambalunga di Rimini*. Nozze Bonini – Gobbi (Rimini, Malvolti, 1888).

16 Alina Laura De Luca, 'L'Argonautica di Catullo: la traduzione del carme 64 nel Cinquecento', in Maria Accame Lanzilotta (ed.), *Volgarizzare e tradurre: dall'Umanesimo all'età moderna*. Atti della Giornata di Studi, 7 dicembre 2011, Università di Roma "Sapienza" (Tivoli, Edizioni Tored, 2012), pp. 63–85.

17 It is interesting to note the various occurrences of the term *doglia* / *duolo* in verses, where Aegeus speaks to his son Theseus at the crucial moment of detachment (vv. 215–37): «chiuso duol» *multas* [...] *querelas* (A 173 [321]=C 223); «la doglia mia» *nostros luctus* (A 178 [326]=C 226); «occhi dogliosi» *anxia* [...] *lumina* (A 198 [346]=C 242); «dolenti case» *funesta* [...] *tecta* (A 202 [350]=C 246). As may be easily seen, the poetic word, not always required from the Latin, recurs as a keyword associated with Aegeus and its intimate feeling. Here and in subsequent quotes, I refer to the Latin text from Douglas F.S. Thomson (ed.), *Catullus* (Toronto, The University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 150–164; 386–443.

The correspondence between the two texts seems significant to me, and not only for the number of the verses.¹⁸ The dittography that Alamanni used to translate *missas* (meaning 'that has been issued', 'externalized') came from Petrarch: a good example is *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* "i sospiri e 'l pianto".¹⁹ Similarly, in the later passages, which are notable for having similar stylistic features, the author resorted to Petrarch to express the tragic gravity of Ariadne's words. To put it more precisely, the re-use of Petrarch in an Italian text of the early sixteenth century was not a sign of originality: the linguistic code of *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* and its rhetorical structure represented a hegemonic model to which an Italian writer was obliged to conform. In my opinion, much more important was Alamanni's attempt to transform the Latin text into an autonomous version, in accordance with linguistic and stylistic norms of the Italian lyric. So, by employing quotation from Petrarch, the writer made a text capable of the same tragic *pathos* of the Catullan characters, who now spoke the language of the Italian lyric. In conclusion, in addition to the merit of being, with high probability, the first translation, the *Epithalamio* had in itself the merit of an original work.²⁰

About twenty years after Alamanni, in 1538 Lodovico Dolce published a translation of the same poem 64, which appeared in a collection of his other works which, in different guises, dealt with the theme of the wedding; the collection was explicitly designed for illiterate men and women.²¹ This would explain the didactic intent of the translation, packed with periphrases to explain particular Latin terms or to clarify a mythological reference. In some cases, the addition seems to betray artistic purposes. In many places, for example,

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- 18 Alamanni, where possible, preserves the order of the words, for example maintaining the strong position of *ego* in the centre of the verse and the chiasmus of v. 166. The translation of *ignaris auris* with «l'aure sorde» is accurate (and the adjective perhaps summarizes *Nullis sensibus*, absent in the vernacular); very appropriate is the translation of *externata malo*, which in Latin means "disrupted by misfortune", with «lassa» (in the same position at the beginning of verse), because the adjective has the poetic value of 'miserable', 'unhappy'.
- 19 For this as for all the poetical quotations in the translation, I refer to the archives ATL – *Archivio della tradizione lirica da Petrarca a Marino*, edited by Amedeo Quondam (Rome, Lexis, 1997) and LIZ – *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli*, edited by Pasquale Stoppelli and Eugenio Picchi, 2nd ed., (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1995).
- 20 This goes against the opinion of Henri Hauvette, *Un exilé florentin à la Cour de France au XVI^e siècle: Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556), sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, Hachette, 1903), p. 233, who considers this translation d'un caractère absolument impersonnel.
- 21 Lodovico Dolce, 'Lo Epithalamio di Catullo nelle nozze di Peleo et di Theti' in *Paraphrasi della sesta satira di Giuvenale: nella quale si ragiona delle miserie de gli huomini maritati. Dialogo in cui si parla di che qualità si dee tor moglie, et del modo, che vi si ha a tenere* (Venice, Curzio Navo e fratelli, 1539).

the translator used Ovid's changes to Catullus' myth of Ariadne in the tenth epistle of *Heroides*; these modifications were often filtered through Ariosto, who had used Catullus and Ovid as sources in his *Orlando Furioso*, in particular for depicting Olympia's character.

In one instance, moreover, Dolce used an additional degree of mediation: in the final verses of the *ecphrasis*, where Catullus describes the arrival of Bacchus searching for Ariadne with his retinue of Satyrs and Sileni, Dolce makes Silenus, having fed and drunk, arriving with a donkey (C 251–2=D 598–603):

*at parte ex alia florens volitabat Iacchus
cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis*

Da l'altra parte del ricco lavoro
si vedea Bacco coronato e cinto
d'uve e di fiori i biondi suoi capelli.
Seguia su l'asinello infiato e tumido
Silen di vino: e lo cingea d'intorno
folto coro di Satyri e Silvani.

Influencing this variation is not only Ovid (*Fasti* 1, v. 399 “*venerat et senior pando Silenus asello*”²² and *Ars Am.* 1, v. 543 “*ebrius, ecce, senex pando Silenus asello*”) but, it seems, the painter Titian.²³

About fifteen years before this translation was made, Titian had painted a *Bacchus and Ariadne* for Alfonso d'Este in Modena (see Figure 15.1); the portrait was inspired by Catullus and Ovid, especially in the depiction of Bacchus leaping from the chariot along with Silenus tottering on a donkey. Instead of translating Catullus, Dolce provided a literary equivalent of Titian's painting: this is supported by the fact that the entire collection, including the translation, was dedicated to Titian and in this dedication Dolce included a paraphrase of Juvenal, and probably of Catullus, aiming to stimulate writers to reproduce the secrets of the soul as painters represented reality with a brush.²⁴ By comparing painting and poetry, the translator challenged Titian: the result

22 I quote from P. Ovidi Nasonis, *Fastorum libri sex*, edited by E. Alton, D.E.W. Wormell and E. Courtney fourth ed. (Stuttgart and Leipzig, Teubner, 1997).

23 I quote from P. Ovidi Nasonis, *Amores, Medicamina faciei feminae, Ars Amatoria, Remedia amoris* edited by E.J. Kenney, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961).

24 On these verses and Titian's relationship with sixteenth-century translators see Carlo Ginzburg, ‘Ovidio e i codici della figurazione erotica nel Cinquecento’, in *Miti emblematici* (Turin, Einaudi, 1986), pp. 132–157; Edgar Wind, *Bellini's Feast of the Gods: a study in Venetian Humanism* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 58, quoted in Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly iconographic* (London, Phaidon, 1969), pp. 141–146.



FIGURE 15.1 *Titian, Bacchus and Ariadne*. Oil on canvass; cm 175 x 191 (1520–1523). LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY.

was a mix of different sources that varied the Latin model. This type of operation is in perfect accordance with the practice of translating in sixteenth century: Dolce's translation is not literal but dynamic, competitive, interpretative; the author modified and renovated the text, adding notes that made the work more accessible in the vernacular.

The appropriation process was expressly addressed in the third translation of Catullus 64, written by Giulio Cesare Bagnoli. The *Argonautica* (as the translator called the work in accordance with the tradition of some ancient manuscripts and editions),²⁵ was probably composed in the last decade of sixteenth

25 Cf. respectively the manuscripts: *Argonautia* (g, M); *Argonautika* (D), some incunabula (Venice 1472; Venice 1481) and printed editions (Florence 1502 and 1515; Lyon 1518). This example is taken from Pierre Flobert, 'Catulle et le cheveu des Parques', *Revue des études latines*, 54 (1976), pp. 142–151: p. 142; it is based on the version found in Georges Lafaye

century, but never published by its author.²⁶ Currently, it is located in the Palatine Library of Parma, in a paper manuscript that may be arguably identified with the codex written by the hand of Bagnoli. The version was composed for the wedding of Marcantonio Colonna III and Orsina Damasceni Peretti, to whom the work was dedicated. In the digression on the Argonauts, which is at the beginning of Catullus' *epillio*, Bagnoli inserted the dedication to the princess Orsina: he praised the woman, wished her kindness, declared his verses to be eternal and expressed the purpose of a future epic work (B 17–32):

Gradite Orsina voi, voi stella, e chiaro
sol di bellezza, e d'immortali honori,
che co'l bel lume pretioso, e caro
potete trar d'amara morte i cori,
questi, perch'io non tema il tempo avaro,
versi, ch'a voi consacro, e primi allori.
E per la cortesia, ch'in voi s'addita,
habbin da bei vostr'occhi eterna vita.

Ben sper'io ancor, quando con stil sonoro
cantarò l'opre, e 'l glorioso nome
pel mio invitto Signore, e 'l Trace, e 'l Moro
tratti al trionfo, e le provincie dome,
vostrà beltà, vostro real decoro
degno di mille Athene, e mille Rome,
far risonare ne i bellicosi carmi,
co 'l suo dolce temprando il suon de l'armi.

Bagnoli used the dedication as a prologue, a space in which he himself stepped in, impersonating a new author. This was repeated at least three times. The first occurs correspondingly to Cat. 64, v. 24: *vos ego saepe, meo vos carmine*

(ed.), *Catullus*, (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1932). The initials of the codices mentioned are taken from the same edition.

26 Giulio Cesare Bagnoli, 'L'*Argonautica* di Catullo tradotta in ottava rima da Giulio Cesare Bagnoli. Dedicata all'Ill.ma et Ecc.ma Sig.ra, la Sig.ra Orsina Colonna Peretti Principessa di Paliano.' Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Pal. 720. Elsewhere through palaeographic observations I have suggested that this text is written by the hand of Bagnoli; in the same work I tried to go back to the Latin edition used as a model by the translator and I analyzed his *modus vertendi*; cf. Alina Laura De Luca, 'L'*Argonautica* di Catullo tradotta da Giulio Cesare Bagnoli', in Italo Pantani and Emilio Russo (eds.), *Recuperi testuali tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, (Rome, Bulzoni, 2012), pp. 165–222.

compellabo. The translator replaced the author: “di vostra fama io cantarò, di voi / s’il basso stile ad alcun pregio ariva” (B 51–2). Later he speaks directly to Ariadne, while Catullus apostrophizes Theseus: (C 66–9=B 129–33):

<i>omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim</i>	tutte le vesti inanzi a i piè ti stanno
<i>ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis alludebant.</i>	che ’l mar gode baciarti e tu no’l senti.
<i>Sed neque tum mitrae neque tum fluitantis</i>	tu non rimiri ciò che fuor sen vanno
<i>amictus</i>	ad altro obietto i tuoi pensieri intenti.
<i>Illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu</i>	A te sol Teseo pensa, a l’empio inganno

Finally, again turning to Arianna, he anticipated the epilogue of the story: “questi Arianna fur consigli tuoi, / che desti a lui che te tradì di poi” (B 207–8), without any correspondence in the Latin text.

It appears that Bagnoli did not aim to imitate Catullus but to replace him, making the epithalamium a new work. It preserved the sequence of events, and only in some cases added descriptive or emotional sequences or *pathos*, aiming to represent the moods more intensively. Most important, however, was the reinterpretation of the *epillio* according to the model of Ariosto: Bagnoli used the octave, the heroic verse *par excellence* and the most suitable to translate the epic meter; he cited Ariosto in places where Ariosto used Catullus as source for his characters; he used chivalrous vocabulary to filter the mythological language of Catullus; the dedication repeated the same pattern of Ariosto’s dedication to the Cardinal Ippolito d’Este at the beginning of *Orlando Furioso*. Revived in the manner of Ariosto, the *Argonautica* was not designed to make known Catullus: Bagnoli made it a modern work, in accordance with the canons of his time and competing with the literary products of the period.

France

Turning our attention to France, we find that in the sixteenth century many French authors, in addition to their own works in the vernacular, published at least one poem in Latin. Moreover, the king himself, Francis I, was a key figure in promoting such works: he ordered the printing of historical works that had already been translated into French and urged contemporary authors to translate Greek and Latin poetry.²⁷ However, according to several surveys, it turns out

27 Cf. Fédéric Charles Joseph Hennebert, *Histoire des traductions françaises d’auteurs grecs et latins pendant le XVI^e et le XVII^e siècles* (Amsterdam, B.R. Gruner, 1968).

that the versions of the classics which appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century are quantitatively scarce. Among these, there was not a single translation of Catullus. Yet, over the course of the century, thirteen complete editions of the *Liber* appeared, of which nine were produced in Lyon and four in Paris (not including the famous Lyons counterfeit of the first Aldine edition of 1502). During the same period philologists, like Muretus and Scaliger, made significant contributions to the restitution and exegesis of Catullan texts. In addition, after a period of moral disapproval that prevented interpretation of and enthusiasm for the *Liber*, imitations of Catullus began to appear in increasing numbers in both French and Neo-Latin poetry.²⁸ However, despite the wealth of exciting studies on *Liber*, approached from different perspectives, it seems that no one translated it before 1650. In fact, according to current knowledge, the author of the first complete French version of the *Liber* was Michel de Marolles, of whom little is known. His prose translation appeared in Paris in 1654. It is generally agreed that it is a bit weak and languid, sometimes too literal or not faithful to the original text, perhaps because its author did not have the time for *labor limae*. More likely, however, this was due to the problematic nature of Catullan verses for a conscientious interpreter when, for example, the thought and the feeling of the author is expressed by a particular structure of the period or through a refined rhythm. To demonstrate this difficulty, we can consider the poem 'Sirmione'²⁹ translated in prose by Michel de Marolles.³⁰ The choice of this poem is deliberate for this reason: since the time of Caesar to the present day, this charming resort has been celebrated in several languages by many poets:

28 Poets such as Dolet, Macrin, and Bèze wrote Neo-Latin imitations and appreciations of Catullus in the 1530s and 1540s; the Pléiade poets admired the sentimental poetry of Catullus, and its formal elegance, and were inspired by it when producing their own verses. Cf. Mary Morrison, 'Catullus in Neo-Latin Poetry of France before 1550', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xvii (1955), pp. 365–394; Mary Morrison, 'Ronsard and Catullus: the influence of Marc-Antoine de Muret', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xviii (1956), 240–274; L. Auguste Colliard, 'Accostamenti catulliani di gusto e d'atmosfera' in 'Ronsard, Du Bellay e Baïf', *Quaderni di lingue e letteratura*, iii–iv (1978–1979), pp. 5–15.

29 This is the poem in which Catullus salutes and celebrates the picturesque town and the house of his father. In this piece he returns exhausted and disappointed by the trip to Bithynia, where he went with the *propraetor* Memmio in 57 BC, hoping to forget Lesbia and to solve his financial problems. The journey was unsuccessful: after a visit to the grave of his brother, who had died a few years before, the poet decides to return home aboard his *faselo*. But despite the initial enthusiasm, even in Sirmione he finds peace and oblivion wanting: Catullus returns to Rome where he lives out the last act of his unhappy love.

30 Michel de Marolles (trans.), *Les poésies de Catulle de Vérone, en Latin et en François* (Paris, Guillaume de Luyne, 1653), p. 53.

<p><i>Paene insularum, Sirmio, insularumque ocelle, quascumque in linquentibus stagnis marique vasto fert uterque Neptunus, quam te libenter quamque laetus in viso, vix mi ipse credens Thyniam atque Bithynos liquisse campos et videre te in tuto. O quid solutis est beatius curis, cum mens onus reponit ac peregrino labore fessi venimus ad larem nostrum desideratoque acquiescimus lecto? Hoc est, quod unum est pro laboribus tantis. Salve, o venusta Sirmio, atque ero gaude, gaudete vosque, o Lydiae lacus undae: ridete, quicquid est domi cachinnorum.</i></p>	<p>O Sirmio, petit œil des Peninsules et des Isles, que l'un et l'autre Neptune enferment dans les lacs fluides, et dans le vaste Mer, que je reviens à toi de bon cœur, et que je suis joyeux de te revoir! A peine mes yeux me font croire que j'ay quitté Thynie, et les champs des Bithiniens, et que je te voy maintenant en seureté. Qui a-t-il de plus heureux que de se voir delivré de soucis? Après avoir esté fatiguez par de longs travaux dans un pays étranger, notre esprit s'estant déchargé d'un grand fardeau, enfin nous voilà de retour en la patrie, et nous prenons notre repos dans notre lict, que nous avions tant souhaité. C'est à dire, que voilà tout ce qui nous demeure pour tenir tant de peines souffertes. Je te saluë, ô belle Sirmie! Puisse tu te réjouir de la presence de ton Maistre. Réjouïssez-vous en aussi, claire eaux du lac Lydien, et tout ce qu'il y a de plaisant et de gracieux chez soy. Donnez nous en des marques par les demonstrations d'une grande joye.</p>
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England

If no one was to prepare another version of the *Liber* after that of De Merolles in France for over a century, the situation was no better in England. In fact, between 1480 and 1640, there are very notable *lacunae* for the Latin classics: Lucretius, Propertius and Tibullus were not represented at all, neither by

edition or translations; Catullus was represented only by a single volume, *Phaselus Catulli, et ad eam, quotquot extant parodiae*.³¹ This work, published in 1579, contained a commentary upon the fourth poem and some of his parodies, together with parodies of other Latin poems taken from Catullus (poems 3; 57), Horace (*Carmina* III and I, 35) and Propertius (*Elegiae* I, 20).³² As is evident, the work was not a translation.³³

Conclusions

In an attempt to explain this singular situation we can state that in England as well as in France, as we have seen, the fortune of Catullus grew only once philological studies had made possible the work of arrangement and critical interpretation of the *Liber*.³⁴ Probably we should not neglect the possible moral reasons: in a French translation dated 1771, the author removed or reworked licentious or vulgar passages, substituting male names with female names.³⁵ Nor is there any doubt that the peculiar characteristics of Catullus' poetry would have inhibited translation attempts.³⁶

31 The full title is *Phaselus Catulli, et ad eam, quotquot extant, Parodiae. Cum annotationibus doctissimorum virorum. Accesserunt alia quaedam eiusdem generis*, edita a Sixto Octaviano (York, Apud Ioannem Marcantium, 1579).

32 A detailed presentation of the collection can be found in Julia Haig Gaisser, *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 255–271; 394–400.

33 Cf. Henrietta R. Palmer, *List of English editions and translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1911).

34 A work that is evident in all of the proposed amendment, conjecture and, in many cases, in *cruces desperationis* that have attempted, over time, to establish a text otherwise inaccessible.

35 I am referring to Alexandre-Frédéric-Jacques Masson de Pezay, *Traduction en prose de Catulle, Tibulle et Gallus, par l'auteur des Soirées Helvétiques et des Tableaux* (Amsterdam and Paris, Delalain, 1771). The parts considered “scabreuses”, concerning homosexual love, were not translated but were grouped in a separate chapter under the title *Carmina nimium obscoena obscura aut inelegantia*. The same treatment was applied to verses of Propertius to Priapo.

36 As is well known, the poems of Catullus conceal a rich and complex literary culture in which the Alexandrian literature coexisted with the archaic Greek lyric. The language was an original combination of literary lexicon and *sermo familiaris*, allowing for various modes of expression. The formal perfection of the verse also exalts the apparently more playful subjects of the poems, giving depth to the inner feelings. Clearly, it is difficult to reconstruct the tensions of the original in another language, both in terms of content and in style.

In conclusion, we can say that the reading of Catullan *carmina* and studies on the text, in terms of editions and commentaries, have been uninterrupted over the centuries and are notable for their accomplishments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Versions, instead, which subsequently would become numerous, are few in that century in which the practice of translation is one of the main channels for reception of antique authors. The story is singular, as I said, and I have no definitive answers. This question certainly should stimulate further research: there may be manuscripts buried in Libraries which preserve attempts to translate the *Liber*, the analysis of which would add another piece to this intriguing story.

Intertraffic: Transnational Literatures and Languages in Late Renaissance England and Europe*

Warren Boutcher

In the English edition published at London in 1603, John Florio and Samuel Daniel described Montaigne's *Essais* as a work of transnational literature. Consider what the paratexts and associated documents reveal about the circumstances of production of this translation.¹ Florio, whose father had taken him to Switzerland during the Marian exile, was teaching Italian and French in noble aristocratic households that employed many fellow religious refugees as tutors. These languages were needed by his noble mistresses and their male relatives for the entertainment of important strangers present in England – and in their homes – for diplomatic purposes, whether official or unofficial. The households' collections – including those of the tutors themselves – contained numerous copies of different editions of the French *Essais*, as of many other works in Latin and foreign languages. The dedications associate the translated Montaigne both with various works of Italian literature and with the works of Philip Sidney, including his *Arcadia* and his translations of French authors. Behind the latter association is the relationship between the publisher of the *Essays*, Edward Blount, and the publisher of the *Arcadia*,

* I am very grateful to the organisers of the 6th Annual St. Andrews Book Conference, 'International Exchange in the European Book World', 20–22 June 2013 (especially Matthew McLean and Andrew Pettegree), the participants in the 'Transnational Literatures' roundtable at the Renaissance Society of America conference in New York (27–29 March 2014), the members of the University of Leeds Interdisciplinary Renaissance and Early Modern Seminar (especially Alex Bamji), and the participants in the 'Narrative Conversions' workshop at the University of York, June 2–3 2014 (especially Helen Smith and Simon Ditchfield).

1 This and the following four paragraphs are based on the biographical entries for John Florio, Edward Blount, and William Ponsonby in the *ODNB*, Michelangelo Florio in the *DBI*, the paratexts to the three volumes of Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes or morall, politike and millitarie discourses*, trans. John Florio (London: Valentine Simmes for Edward Blount, 1603), especially Samuel Daniel's prefatory poem, and on W. Boutcher, "A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence": New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625', *Reformation*, 2 (1997), pp. 39–109.

William Ponsonby, to whom Blount had been an apprentice. The lists of both combined translated and original works in English, while both also doubtless acted as sellers of copies of imported continental books.

How does Florio view the *Essais*? He views it as a book coming out of Paris, only recently pacified by Henri IV after the terrors of the League, that has been approved in Rome and Geneva. Despite the fact that it is written by a nobleman in a Gasconised French, and not by a scholar in Latin, and despite the fact that the Parisian book trade had been largely cut off from the mid-1580s to the mid-1590s, both Daniel and Florio are clear that the book – against the odds – has already achieved a free circulation across all borders and obstacles.² Indeed, both are also clear that this is due to its status not as a scholarly, potentially controversial book, but as a noble book, destined in England for noble readers in the school of Philip Sidney, and for a wider readership aspiring to the values of his school.

In his preliminary poem to the translator, Daniel stands on the threshold of the English “house” in which Florio has placed Montaigne and applauds his “safe transpassage” to England and English citizenship. Montaigne is the way out of the confusion caused by the self-destructive Babel of printed knowledge built by mankind. He is as much “ours as theirs”, and has the “franchise of his worth” allowed everywhere. A happy pen is not “invassal’d” to one monarchy, but dwells with all the better world of men, whose “spirits are all of one community”, whom neither ocean nor rocks can keep from “th’intertraffique of the minde”. It vents its treasure in all lands, and finds a “most secure commercement”.

Daniel is describing a vernacular complement, both intellectual and commercial, to the transnational republic of Latin letters and the Latin trade in learned books. On the one hand the French book is an intellectual conveyance of the likeliest images human frailty can find; it traverses the barriers erected by the Babel-like confusion of languages and knowledges. On the other hand it is a commodity, a piece of merchandise that is traded and translated everywhere, despite customs barriers and other obstacles to free trade. For Daniel says not only that Montaigne has been enfranchised as a citizen of England, but that he has everywhere – as we heard above – had the franchise of his worth *allowed*. So his worth is recognised and his freedom, in the sense of his immunity from taxation or subjection, is granted in all countries, not just in England.

² Malcolm Walsby, ‘Printer mobility in sixteenth-century France’, in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print culture and peripheries in early modern Europe: a contribution to the history of printing and the book trade in small European and Spanish cities* (Leiden, Brill, 2012), pp. 249–269, 253–256, for the disruption of the Parisian and French book trade.

Elsewhere in the paratexts, Florio tells us exactly what this means, and who the agents in the “safe transpassage” have been. He points to the book’s proof of noble descent, in the form of the “letters testimoniall of the Romane Senate and Citty” printed at the end of III 9, referring to the charter of Roman citizenship awarded to Montaigne during his visit to Rome. He takes this as evidence that the book has enjoyed safe transpassage through Rome and the Roman Catholic world. He also informs us that the “precise Genevians” have allowed him to be printed. Here he is referring to editions published at Geneva with false imprints – whether “Lyon” or “Leiden”. For the son of a Protestant refugee from Italy, assisted in his translation by the son of another such refugee whose family settled in Geneva (Theodore Diodati), the judgement of the “precise” Genevians is probably of greater significance than that of the Roman senate. Florio also alludes to the fact that an edition has been published in the Italian peninsula (Ferrara) by using its title as his sub-title: “Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses” (from Girolamo Naselli’s 1590 *Discorsi morali, politici et militari*).

So this book has found “secure commercement” with friendly strangers everywhere in late Renaissance Europe. Florio, Daniel, and the publisher Blount did see it on one level as a French book that was becoming an English book, but they situated this particular act of “transpassage” in the context of a European “intertraffique” that enabled it to cross territorial, cultural (including confessional), and linguistic borders in many cities and states.

Montaigne is just one, high-profile example of a very broad phenomenon. The activities of English printers, booksellers, patron-collectors, authors (including translators), and ordinary readers were shaped in many ways by the formation and circulation of a vast body of transnational literature.³ There is no question that the extraordinary migrations of biblical texts such as the Psalms, and of learned Latin literature by scholars such as Erasmus, led this trend.⁴ But it went well beyond the Bible and Erasmus. It included everything from contemporary continental editions of classical works and vernacular poetry to devotional aids and news periodicals.

3 The work of Andrew Pettegree, director of the USTC project, is fundamental in this area. See, for an overview, Andrew Pettegree, ‘North and south: Cultural transmission in the sixteenth-century European book world’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 89 (2012), pp. 507–520, and, for a key case-study, Andrew Pettegree, ‘Translation and the migration of texts’, in Thomas Betteridge (ed.), *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2007), pp. 113–125.

4 Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (eds.), *Psalms in the early modern world* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011); K.A.E. Enenkel (ed.), *The reception of Erasmus in the early modern period* (Leiden, Brill, 2013).

In analysing this phenomenon, we should consider linguistic and cultural translation alongside the book trade and book dissemination. Transnational circulation of literary artefacts – whether described in a particular context as ‘texts’ or ‘books’ or ‘works’ – involved ‘translations’ of various kinds: the physical movement of books, the transfer of a text from the context of one culture or confession to another, the transfer of a whole text (as a ‘work’) or part of a text from one language to another. One or more of these kinds of transfer might apply in any given instance. A text might be translated from one cultural or confessional context to another, and printed in a different country, without changing language. This was often the case with ‘trans-confessional’ texts such as the Jesuit Robert Parsons’ book of Christian exercises, first printed at Rouen in 1582 for clandestine distribution in England, then adapted in a Protestant version by Edmund Bunny, first printed at London in 1584; or the Geneva bible that René Benoist adapted for publication at Paris as a Bible for Catholics, and that Plantin subsequently re-published at Antwerp as the ‘Louvain Bible’.⁵ Equally, a text might change language without changing its religious or cultural orientation, as in the case of William Fitch’s English *Rule of perfection* (1609, discussed below). Or it might simply travel as copies of a particular edition from one place to another, as in the case of the Spanish convert to Protestantism, Julian Hernandez, who carried copies of a false indulgence and other small Calvinist books all the way from Geneva to Seville in 1557, where he was burned at the stake in 1560.⁶

So the circulation in question might concretely be a matter of: the publication of an edition in one state or city (e.g. to avoid censorship) that was principally intended for dissemination in other states or cities; the movement of individual copies and bundles of copies of an edition across borders – licitly or illicitly – *via* the book trade, social networks, and educational or diplomatic travel; the publication of identical or revised editions in the same language as the source work in different locations across or beyond Europe, whether through commercial partnerships, pirated editions (which contravene a privilege held in another country), or editions issued by commercial rivals (in locations where no

5 Robert Parsons, *The Christian directory* (1582): *the first booke of the Christian exercise, appertayning to resolution*, ed. Victor Houliston (Leiden, Brill, 1998); Elizabeth M. Ingram, ‘Dressed in borrowed robes: The making and marketing of the Louvain Bible (1578)’, in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book: Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 212–232. The notion of ‘trans-confessional’ texts was first proposed in Francis M. Higman, *Bibliographie matérielle et histoire intellectuelle: les débuts de la Réforme française* (London, University of London, 1986).

6 Margaret Aston, ‘Lap books and lectern books: The revelatory book in the Reformation’, in Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book*, pp. 163–189, 172.

privilege protects the work); the translation, adaptation, and publication of the work in new languages – including multilingual editions – in different locations, whether, again, through commercial arrangements or otherwise.

The existence of this body of highly mobile texts poses many difficult questions. Some are more about production. What exactly makes a text travel beyond a local or national market of origin? The language? The content? The author? The publisher? Who are the other agents and intermediaries involved in the process? How do producers of texts shape them in light of their knowledge that they could or would travel beyond local or national markets? Is there a distinction between targeting or reaching an ‘international audience’ and a series of different national or regional audiences? What kinds of control, if any, can the original producers have over the forms and the languages in which their products were transmitted and translated? Was all Latin literature necessarily produced for transnational circulation?

Others are more about dissemination. What are the possible patterns of and obstacles to transmission, translation, and transportation? How do they relate to trade routes and to patterns of migration of religious and other minorities? Is transnational circulation necessarily a sign of success, or could it point to failure in a home market? Do some texts undergo more cultural translation than others as they travel, to adapt to different markets and audiences? Is there a clear distinction between texts that are multiply translated into various languages as part of a policy on the part of a particular patron or institution (e.g. James I and VI, the Society of Jesus), and texts which just find their way across borders for commercial reasons?⁷ Are some territorial, cultural-confessional, and linguistic borders more permeable to traffic than others? What was the balance of imports and exports in relation to different locations and languages? Did Latin texts necessarily travel more easily, with less adaptation, across borders? What was the relationship between the Latin republic of letters, the Latin trade, and the intellectual and commercial selection of vernacular works for transnational circulation?

These questions are particularly interesting to ask, and particularly difficult to answer, for the period between the Reformation and the end of the Thirty Years War (c.1520–c.1650), the period which encompassed Montaigne’s life, his literary career, and the early circulation beyond France of his best known work.

7 On institutional translation policies see Peter Burke, ‘Cultures of translation in early modern Europe’, in Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural translation in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 7–38, 16–18. The collection in which this essay appears is the best effort yet made to answer some of the questions I am posing here.

Besides the emergence of an interconnected European print trade centered (with the sole exception of Venice) in cities north of the Alps, these decades saw the outbreaks of the various European religious wars, the associated waves of religious migration, and the first properly institutionalised efforts made by ecclesiastical, state, and municipal entities to regulate the production and circulation of the written and printed word, and to create their own bodies of biblical and liturgical literature. When Montaigne entered Rome in November 1580 he gathered that the customs officers were automatically suspicious of any Book of Hours published at Paris and not at Rome.⁸ At the same time, the creation of new, transnational religious confessions increased the mobility of certain kinds of foreign news and foreign texts.

By this period, a majority of the educated elite across Europe were learning to read, write, and speak by translating between languages that usually included Latin and at least one vernacular.⁹ The vernacular languages were, as they began to standardise themselves, more mobile and interactive. It was the moment of what Michel Simonin has called 'l'Europe des langues', a moment of interlingual exchange and positive multilingualism when Italian, French, Spanish, and to a lesser extent German and Dutch, joined Latin as a run of spoken and literary languages current across the continent, without any of them enjoying overall predominance as both an oral and literary means of communication. The expansion in the number of multilingual texts and dictionaries published, as aids to language-learning, was one of the most important manifestations of this.¹⁰

This chapter is particularly interested in the literatures and languages of the arts in that late Renaissance period. But it is important to acknowledge the longevity and diversity of transnational literary phenomena across the range of genres and across the divides between script and print, and between the late middle ages and the early modern period (1300–1750) – even if it is clearly the

8 Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de voyage*, François Rigolot (ed.) (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1992), p. 92.

9 For England see Louis Kelly, 'Pedagogical uses of translation', in Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English: Volume 2 1550–1660* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 12–16.

10 Michel Simonin, 'Des livres pour l'Europe? Réflexions sur quelques ouvrages polyglottes (xvi^e siècle – début xvii^e siècle)', *L'encre & la lumière: quarante-sept articles, 1976–2000* (Geneva, Droz, 2004), pp. 803–814; Pettegree, 'North and south', pp. 518–519; Werner Hüllen, 'Textbook families for the learning of vernaculars between 1450 and 1750', in Sylvain Auroux et al. (eds.), *History of Linguistics 1999: selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, 14–19 September 1999, Fontenay-St. Cloud* (Amsterdam, Benjamins, 2003), pp. 97–108.

case that the advent of print culture and the Reformation changed the settled geography of late medieval textual production from the 1520s, and that the period between 1650 and 1750 was different again.¹¹

On the one hand, across this *longue durée*, texts by the same author could meet with different degrees of cultural translation as they travelled. Guyda Armstrong has recently shown that some works by Boccaccio, such as the *Ninfale fiesolano*, changed beyond recognition as they travelled through various contact zones and languages, while others, such as *Fiammetta*, travelled virtually intact across Europe, still bearing their original dedications.¹²

On the other hand, there were no clear hierarchies or set routes of transmission between the major languages that applied across the board; it was common for translation to be through one or more intermediary languages, and from more than one source text and language.¹³ Italian, for example, was not as predominant in the English Renaissance as was once assumed. The transmission of Boccaccio's *De casibus* to England was mediated by French literary culture; it was the result of a Franco-Italian exchange that originated in the late medieval network linking Naples to Avignon. Indeed, one cannot understand Boccaccio's presence in England throughout the late medieval and early modern period separately from the continental dissemination of his works.¹⁴ The story of the *Amadís*, which had a late medieval provenance, is not that of a Spanish 'original' which was translated from one language and place to another in linear fashion across Europe: it became the common property of several languages as adaptations, continuations, and cross-translations appeared across the continent. Again, the English *Amadís* has to be understood in that continental context of cross-dissemination.¹⁵

There were of course texts that appeared in Italian or Latin first and then jumped across into the other vernaculars. But even these cases were rarely as linear as some traditional histories of the dissemination of the ideas of the Italian Renaissance or the Rheno-Flemish tradition of mysticism tend to assume.¹⁶ In the area of Catholic devotional literature one could take the

11 Pettegree, 'North and south', pp. 507–510.

12 Guyda Armstrong, *The English Boccaccio: a history in books* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 212.

13 Gordon Braden, 'Translating procedures in theory and practice', in Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English: Volume 2 1550–1660* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 89–100, 96–97.

14 Armstrong, *The English Boccaccio*, p. 158.

15 Pettegree, 'Translation and the migration of texts', *passim*.

16 On the latter see Carlos M.N. Eire, 'Early modern Catholic piety in translation', in Burke and Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural translation in early modern Europe*, pp. 83–100, 97–98.

example of the *Imitatio Christi*, now usually attributed to Thomas à Kempis. This text was originally composed and disseminated in Latin in manuscript in the fifteenth century, though it found early translations into Dutch, German, and French. In the early decades of print it received still wider European dissemination in Latin, while printed vernacular translations were concentrated in English and French. After about 1530, it began to cross confessional boundaries, in 'converted' Protestant forms that suppressed book IV on the mass, and other Catholic references, in both Latin and the vernaculars. Some of these adaptations were in turn translated into other languages, while at the same time Jesuit editions began the task of restoring the text from the original Latin manuscripts.¹⁷

Other, later devotional works originated in the vernacular and had still more vexed histories of multilingual composition and transmission. William Fitch, otherwise known as Benet of Canfield, had himself followed a transnational, cross-confessional itinerary from Little Canfield in Essex to conversion to Roman Catholicism at the hands of an inmate of Newgate prison, then abroad to Paris, to Italy, and back to various Capuchin houses in France. In 1599 he crossed over to England and was imprisoned, before returning to France in 1602–1603. In prison he composed parts one and two of *The rule of perfection* in English (though there may have been a prior French version), and twice tried to publish it with a clandestine press in England, only to have all copies taken in by the authorities. This English text appeared at Rouen in 1609 (still dedicated to Catholic communities in Louvain and Brussels), and in two other editions. He also composed a part three in French, that was not printed in English until 1646. Various two-part and three-part editions appeared in French at Paris and elsewhere, also from 1609. A Latin translation of the French followed at Paris in 1610, and subsequently appeared in other continental editions, including two at Rome. Translations of various parts of the Latin edition followed in 1616 into Italian (Venice), from 1622 into Flemish (Antwerp), from 1625 into German (Ingolstadt), in 1629 into Spanish.¹⁸

Transnational circulation could be as much of a failure in the case of Latin works as it could be a success in the case of vernacular works. As a counterpoint

17 Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425–1650: from late medieval classic to early modern bestseller* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

18 A.F. Allison, D.M. Rogers, and W. Lottes (eds.), *The contemporary printed literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: an annotated catalogue* 2 vols. (Aldershot, Scolar, 1989–1994), vol. 1 nos. 443–466; vol. 2, nos. 275–277. See also the entry for 'Benet of Canfield' in F.L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd ed. rev.; Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).

to the discussion of Montaigne, consider, briefly, an example from neo-Latin literature. There has been much work in the last twenty years on the European, Latin republic of letters as a “socially- and intellectually-selective distribution network for manuscripts and printed books”. Correspondence provided a framework for the composition, revision, and circulation of texts across borders. It furnished expectations and standards of reception that then re-inhabited writing. Books were printed with evidence of prior epistolary exchanges, in an attempt to shape reception across different national and regional markets.¹⁹

Jacques Auguste de Thou planned to use the republic of letters in this fashion on the occasion of the publication of his *Historiae* of the religious wars in Europe and France. He attempted to use his network of correspondents to facilitate safe transpassage for his work across southern and central Europe.²⁰ But he was eventually to complain in a poem published with his *Vita* (1621) that, for having defended *libertas* and *veritas*, “I am stigmatised everywhere, at Rome, and at our court [France]” (“*Et Romae et nostra passim traducor in aula*”).²¹ The grand neo-Latin history fell foul of troubles home and abroad, was not published in full at Paris, and was prohibited at Rome. It first appeared, along with an apologetic memoir, in a semi-dissimulated and toned-down edition published in Geneva in 1620, then disappeared after a few editions of the 1620s at Geneva and Frankfurt. It was in demand *via* the Latin trade, but supply could not meet the demand.²²

All these examples, together with the paratextual remarks of Florio and Daniel, highlight a dimension of literary and linguistic culture that has been neglected in the literary historiography of the last two hundred years, which has been dominated by the institutionalisation of national literary cultures. It of course remains true that the early modern period – especially the period from 1650 to 1750 – saw the beginnings of nationalised markets for separate vernacular literatures and languages in something like their modern form (though this may be truer for ‘literature’ other than what is meant by that term now) and the

19 Jeroen Salman, Roeland Harms, and Joad Raymond, ‘Introduction’, in Jeroen Salman, Roeland Harms, and Joad Raymond (eds.), *Not dead things: the dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), pp. 1–29, 4.

20 Jacques Auguste de Thou, *Historiarum sui temporis libri CXXXVIII*, ed. Thomas Carte, 7 vols. (London, Samuel Buckley, 1733), vol. 7; Alfred Soman, *De Thou and the Index. Letters from Christophe Dupuy, (1603–1607)* (Geneva, Droz, 1972).

21 Jacques Auguste de Thou, *La vie de Jacques-Auguste de Thou=I. Aug. Thuani vita*, ed. Anne Teissier-Ensminger (Paris, H. Champion, 2007), 872–873.

22 Samuel Kinser, *The works of Jacques-Auguste de Thou* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), pp. 26–45, 50–52, 54–56.

decline of the Latin republic of letters.²³ Over the *longue durée*, the Bible and the news, for example, undeniably devolved from their Latin incarnations into separate, national, vernacular bodies of texts. But recent research is beginning to reveal the environment of tensions and interactions *between* and *across* literary and linguistic cultures that was the context of this long-term process of devolution and self-definition.²⁴ It is showing how regional, national, and transnational circuits of production, circulation and reception continued to be interconnected across linguistic, cultural-confessional, and territorial borders in the age of what used to be called the 'triumph' and is now called the 'construction' or 'formation' of the distinct national languages and literatures.

And the part of the picture that has most clearly been neglected is the 'top' level: the transnational, multilingual environment within which regional and national markets were embedded as they developed. This environment was of course not uniform across Europe; it constituted itself differently in different cities and countries, depending on the regulatory regime, the nature of the print trade, confessional allegiances, and linguistic profile. Indeed, it could be perceived and mapped in subtly different ways by different observers, at different locations and moments.²⁵ The multilingual culture of early modern London was perhaps related more to that of Antwerp, than to that of Paris, which in the sixteenth century welcomed only Italian from the range of principal modern languages.²⁶

Late medieval England had been in some respects a post-colonial culture in relation to France and French language and literature; its literary culture was broadly trilingual (English, Latin, French), though none of the languages denoted by the terms in parenthesis were stably differentiated from other dialects and variants in the fifteenth century.²⁷ During and after the Reformation,

23 For an overview in the case of languages, with a summary of reasons for revising the traditional narrative of the triumph of the national vernaculars over Latin, see Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially pp. 62–64.

24 For a very stimulating example of a revisionist study of this kind, see José Del Valle (ed.), *A political history of Spanish: the making of a language* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), especially the chapter by Miguel Martínez. For the case of popular print and news see Salman, Harms, and Raymond (eds.), *Not dead things*, especially part 3 (and Raymond's contribution in particular).

25 This point is brilliantly made in Terence Cave, *Pré-Histoires II: langues étrangères et troubles économiques au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva, Droz, 2001).

26 Cave, *Pré-Histoires II*, p. 70.

27 A.E.B. Coldiron, 'French presences in Tudor England', in Kent Cartwright (ed.), *A companion to Tudor literature* (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 246–260; Ardis Butterfield,

the triangular relationship with Latin and French persisted, if in a changed form. For Italian – often mediated by French, or learned with French – and Spanish entered the multilingual fray against complex political and cultural backgrounds that of course included incipient nation-building and rivalries with both the French monarchy and the Habsburg empire. Saddled with a language that was little used beyond its own borders, sixteenth-century England depended, in the absence of a significant learned printing industry, heavily on the Latin trade, and other means of importation of foreign-language books.²⁸ The printing industry it did have relied heavily in the early years on French artisans, techniques, and texts.²⁹

Terminology

Before proceeding, we must confront the problem of terminology that will already have occurred to the reader of this piece. ‘Transnational’ (or ‘transcultural’) is one of a series of current terms in recent scholarship that focus attention on dynamics and movements between, within, across, or above particular nations and cultures: inter- or intra-national/-cultural; extra-national/-cultural; cross-national/-cultural; supra-national/-cultural. ‘Transnational’, in particular, is now in use as a keyword all the way from comparative literature in the USA, and series like Princeton University Press’s ‘Translation/Transnation’, to the history of the book in Europe and series like Brill’s ‘Library of the Written Word’.

But all of these terms tend to presuppose the existence of modern nation-states and nation-cultures. The ‘transnational’ turn originated in modern literary studies, including comparative literature. Postcolonial studies challenged the primacy of discrete national literatures, and older Eurocentric models of comparative analysis, in order to provide a framework for studying literature and culture in transnational, post-imperial contexts. This turn has spread across all the major western European language and literature areas in modern studies. Transnational Francophone and Hispanic studies are well established.

The familiar enemy: Chaucer, language, and nation in the Hundred Years War (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).

- 28 Julian Roberts, ‘The Latin trade’, in John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4: 1557–1695* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 141–173.
- 29 A.E.B. Coldiron, *English printing, verse translation, and the battle of the sexes, 1476–1557* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2009).

The 'Translating Cultures' AHRC theme includes a major initiative to transnationalise Italian studies in similar ways.³⁰

Can we use the same terms to talk about the period before discrete national languages, literatures, and cultures were established in tandem with the construction of modern nation-states? The distinctions between nationalised and institutionalised 'English', 'French', 'Italian', 'Spanish' languages and literatures, corresponding to the respective nation states and empires, were – though emergent – not yet in place in the early modern period. These western European territories included city-states, autonomous regions, composite dynastic empires. The borders between them were not necessarily borders between 'nations' and crossing them did not necessarily mean changing one dominant national language or religion for another.

Indeed, in the post-Reformation period, crossing between confessions might be more significant than crossing between nations or languages. As was indicated briefly above, Francis Higman has described a category of 'trans-confessional' texts, by which he means devotional texts of one confessional orientation that are borrowed or translated by producers of a rival confession. It could be argued that Florio and Daniel are thinking more in trans-confessional than in transnational terms, though in a sense slightly different from Higman's: theirs is a secular text that has been allowed to cross borders, in unchanged form, not between national literary cultures but between the confessional regimes of cities from Paris to Rome, Geneva, and London.³¹ In territorial terms, whereas the language of transnationalism might work to a certain extent in relation to imperial entities such as France and the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg empire, it clearly has no purchase on relations between the literatures and languages of the city-states making up the Italian peninsula.³²

And how do we describe the position of Latin? On the one hand, literature in classical Latin and the products of spoken and written neo-Latin were, it might be thought, inherently supra- or inter-national – the shared language of the community of the European republic of letters. On the other hand, they were claimed in various ways by institutions such as the Roman Catholic Church and the French monarchy, and by rival traditions of scholarship based in different countries and cities of Europe. Just because a text was produced in Latin did not guarantee it a passport to travel everywhere in exactly the same guise. The products of the Parisian Latin trade did not tend to reach foreign

30 <http://217.199.187.63/ahrcdev.net/awards/large-grants/transnationalizing-modern-languages-mobility-identity-and-translation-in-modern-italian-cultures/>.

31 Higman, *Bibliographie matérielle*.

32 My thanks to Brian Richardson.

markets. Some of the Latin texts that did travel jumped across Europe in separate editions published for particular zones. This could entail cultural translation for different confessional audiences.³³

The uniform application of the term 'transnational' to the intertraffic of late medieval and early modern literary cultures is therefore problematic. It is not possible to go across 'national' linguistic and literary borders that are not yet practical realities – at least if you require borders of the nineteenth century kind. Indeed, Mary McMurren has persuasively argued that it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that new novels were commonly received at home and abroad as representatives of their nations, while at the same time showing signs of a nascent transnationalism in which the bundling of language, culture, and literature in the nation altered fiction's spread:

The identification of novels more closely with a national origin and character, now circulating across languages in translation, particularized novels, and then in a necessary reversal, both internationalized and universalized the novel. This complex process of transnationalization constituted the form of the novel – its allegiance to a single language and location, and its emergence as a genre with indefinite boundaries.³⁴

Before that time, and especially until the later seventeenth century, "literature as a whole was translatable":

Translation was not a means or instrument for the circulation of fiction, but was embedded in a prose fiction field that exists because of circulation, where original and rendering were not rigorously distinguished, where the origins of narratives were generally unknown, and where the novel's national belonging hardly began to take shape, only to be resisted and reformulated by extranational and supranational affiliations.

Could something like this latter formulation not be applied to the realities of circulation of a lot of genres of texts from the late medieval period to at least the mid-seventeenth century?

33 Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, commerce, religion: the learned book in the age of confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 34–35, 194–200.

34 Mary Helen McMurren, *The spread of novels: translation and prose fiction in the eighteenth century* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 20, 15, 156.

Approaches

Nevertheless, 'transnational' is currently the best keyword we have for the whole dimension of early-modern literary and linguistic activity that most urgently needs recovering, as long as we remain aware of its anachronistic connotations. The recovery in question is moving at different speeds in different areas. We do not currently have and will not soon have a comprehensive historical overview of the intertraffic of literatures and languages in early modern Europe. Indeed, there have been almost no attempts in the last fifty years of Anglophone scholarship to write any sort of comprehensive literary history that is not merely broken down into chapters on national literatures.³⁵ There is, for example, *The Continental Renaissance 1500–1600* volume in the 'Pelican Guides to European Literature', published in 1971. This excludes England and very much divides up the territory by nation and genre ('literature' is defined as 'poetry', 'drama', 'prose fiction', 'literature of ideas and manners', 'popular literature'), with an introduction emphasising the new national self-awareness of the sixteenth century. It retrospectively imposes a grid of national literary cultures that was definitively formed only in the nineteenth century.³⁶

Even medievalists do not have much more to go on. David Wallace is currently editing the first history to be published in English of literary culture in medieval Europe: *Europe: A literary history, 1348–1418*.³⁷ The interesting thing about this venture for our purposes is that it eschews both of the traditional models for this kind of historiography. On the one hand it does not organise the material by national blocks of French literature, English literature, etc. But on the other hand it avoids resurrecting the grand visions of a singular, pan-European culture of *topoi* and ideas developed in the mid-twentieth century. These revolved around the transcendent transmission of particular authors, such as T.S. Eliot's Dante, or of Latin Christendom, as in the case of E.R. Curtius. Instead, Wallace's history considers literary activity in transnational sequences of interconnected places. It emphasizes both local, vernacular peculiarities and the extraordinarily rich interchange of languages within and between

35 One exception in Francophone scholarship – by a team including French, Canadian, and Hungarian scholars – is the four-volume project entitled *L'Époque de la Renaissance*, part of the larger 'Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages', a series sponsored by the International Comparative Literature Association. Three volumes of the Renaissance sub-series have appeared: vol. 1, 1400–1480 (1988); vol. 3, 1520–1560 (2011); vol. 4, 1560–1610 (2000).

36 A.J. Krailsheimer (ed.) et al., *The Continental Renaissance, 1500–1600* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971).

37 This is projected to appear with Oxford University Press in January 2016.

far-flung locales. Lines of transmission follow routes of trade, pilgrimage, crusade, intellectual exchange, and political alliance.³⁸ Could such a history be compiled for the early modern or late Renaissance period? Or does the advent of print mean that one could not plot such stable routes of transmission anymore – as some of the examples presented above would suggest?

While we wait for a convincing overview, the recovery of the transnational dimension of early modern literary, linguistic, and print cultures is proceeding in three overlapping, potentially convergent fields: one focussed on representations within – and cross-cultural contexts for – literary texts, whether in relation to diplomacy, travel, commerce, colonialism, empire, or transnational religion; one focussed on language-learning, multilingualism, and language communities, including the *questione della lingua* across Europe, the relations between illustrious and popular languages; one focussed on the print trade and its relationship to translation and book-importation, book circulation. All of these are relevant to the case-study (Florio's Montaigne) I briefly delineated above, and to the later, parallel case with which I shall end: the publisher Humphrey Moseley's English edition of Cardinal Bentivoglio's history of the wars in Flanders.³⁹ In between, I shall use two other works to illustrate the kinds of analysis these approaches produce in relation to England: *Coryats crudities* (1611), and the early catalogues of the Bodleian library. What all these examples tend to do is embed literary and linguistic activity – including printed activity – in English in a multilingual, multiconfessional, European world of intertraffic.

Florio had been commissioned by Richard Hakluyt earlier in his career to translate, from the Italian, the Frenchman Jacques Cartier's account of a new world voyage.⁴⁰ The chapter of his most famous translation that caught Shakespeare's eye was, of course, the one that drew on accounts of encounters with Amerindian cultures (*Essayes*, I 30, 'Of the caniballes'). The first field of study is, then, the one that owes most to new historicist and postcolonial studies: the analysis of both representations and occlusions of the 'other' and of intercultural exchange and piracy/appropriation to be found within English Renaissance literary texts, especially travel writing, and other accounts of

38 <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~dwallace/europe/about.html>.

39 I am grateful to Nina Lamal for drawing this example to my attention in her excellent paper at the St. Andrews Conference.

40 Diego Pirillo, 'Voyagers and translators in Elizabethan England: Richard Hakluyt, John Florio and Renaissance travel collections', in Alison Yarrington, Stefano Villani, and Julia Kelly (eds.), *Travels and translations: Anglo-Italian cultural transactions* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2013), pp. 27–47.

cultural encounters, within and beyond Europe; the analysis of those texts in European and global political and cultural contexts.⁴¹

Here, we have to face one important limitation of the current chapter. Because I start from the classical and foreign languages that were most current in literary contexts in Renaissance England, the overall emphasis is Eurocentric. There are important studies of the representations of European others in the literature of the period.⁴² But, in competition with the French and other powers, England and the English were involved in various kinds of intercultural exchange and colonial relations with African, New World, and Asian cultures, in ways that often intersected with relations with those other European powers and their literatures and languages.⁴³

Let us, however, limit ourselves to one Eurocentric example: the textual representation of encounters between an English Protestant humanist and multilingual, multiconfessional Europe. From our perspective this is interesting because these encounters play the languages and concerns of the republic of Latin letters against those of a more vernacular world. Thomas Coryate's extraordinary work of travel literature, first published in 1611, under the title *Coryats crudities*, traces various kinds of itineraries across territorial, confessional, linguistic, and literary borders. It does so by visualising and verbalising the performances and encounters of a particular kind of "rare English-Latine-Grecian" persona at various locations across Europe.⁴⁴ The fashioning – and mocking – of this persona is shared

41 Jyotsna G. Singh (ed.), *A companion to the global Renaissance: English literature and culture in the era of expansion* (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Andrew Hadfield and Paul Hammond (eds.), *Shakespeare and Renaissance Europe* (London, Thomson Learning, 2004).

42 See, for example, Barbara Fuchs, *The poetics of piracy: emulating Spain in English literature* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Deanne Williams, *The French fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jason Powell and William T. Rossiter (eds.), *Authority and diplomacy from Dante to Shakespeare* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013); Catherine Gimelli Martin and Hassan Melehy (eds.), *French connections in the English Renaissance* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013).

43 Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and empire: the new world, Islam, and European identities* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic nation: maurophilia and the construction of early modern Spain* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Brian Brazeau, *Writing a New France, 1604–1632: empire and early modern French identity* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2009); Claire Jowitt, *The culture of piracy, 1580–1630: English literature and seaborne crime* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010).

44 Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities: hastily gobbled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia aliàs Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands* (London, William Stansby, 1611), "Panegyricke verses upon the author and his worke", sig. e5v.

with an illustrious group of wits and poets who contribute a collection of “Panegyricke Verses” for the preliminary matter.

This text exhibits various forms of inter-lingual and inter-cultural hybridity, across Latin-and-the-vernaculars, at every level. On the one hand, it is a work of erudite travel literature composed in a sporadically Latinate English vernacular, with extensive citations of classical literature, monumental inscriptions and *epistolae*, and frequent translations from Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographiae universalis lib. vi*. This aspect of Coryate’s work seriously attempts to realise the goals and aims of the humanist *ars apodemica*, including the composition and exchange of Latin correspondence with intellectuals in the central European, Protestant *respublica litterarum*, and tolerant if combative interaction with Papist spaces and learned men.

On the other hand, the episodes visualised on the title-page, to which many of the mock-encomiums in the preliminary matter relate, describe a work that has affinities with satirical or picaresque fictions of fantasy travel across Latin and several vernacular languages, from More’s *Utopia* and Rabelais’ *Pantagruel* to Nashe’s *Unfortunate traveller* and Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*.

This literary hybridity corresponds, of course, to an ambivalence in the persona of the travelling gentleman from Odcombe in Somerset. On the one hand he is the learned Protestant gentleman who introduces each city with verses by Scaliger, who is able to converse in Latin with great Protestant humanists such as Janus Gruterus at Heidelberg.⁴⁵ In the library of the Jesuit college in Speyer – an Imperial city in which a Lutheran majority tolerated Papists – he heroically demands to know why they had expurgated certain passages from their copy of his Latin guide (Münster’s *Cosmographiae libri*), before going on to discourse happily in Latin with one of them on the topic of ancient British history. This encounter is an example of the intertraffic still possible – within certain limits – in the confessionalised republic of letters of the early seventeenth century.⁴⁶

On the other hand, he is the buffoon who fails to communicate with or persuade anyone of anything, if they do not happen to be a Latin-speaking humanist, if they can converse, that is, only in one or other of the European vernaculars, of which he seems to be ignorant. He has hilarious encounters with Dutch-speaking and German-speaking “boores”. In one incident he is attacked with a halberd for stealing grapes, and imagines that a “volley” of Greek and Latin will pacify the assailant, who, unsurprisingly, is all the more exasperated.⁴⁷ At

45 Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2N4r–v.

46 Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2Q1v–2r.

47 Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2Q3v–4v.

Venice he becomes the “Signior Tomaso Odcombino” illustrated by William Hole at the front of the book in the act of saluting a famous courtesan. Again, his persuasive attempts to “convert” her, like his attempts to convert the Jews on the Rialto, appear to fail. According to illustrations on the frontispiece (not reflected in the contents of the text), one courtesan ends up pelting him with eggs as he escapes in a gondola, while indignant Jews beat him away.

Here, *Coryats crudities* is already moving us on to the second of the three approaches (*via* foreign language-learning and language communities) outlined above. Florio worked early in his career in the English embassy in Paris, and the context of his translation of Montaigne is the oral-textual teaching of French and Italian to noblewomen and noblemen involved in the quasi-diplomatic entertainment of strangers. One of the key jokes with which the mock-panegyrists run in the preliminary matter is the fact that Coryate can only speak (besides English) Latin and Greek, and that in five months away he has failed to pick up any of the modern European languages – despite the fact that he himself recommends that the English gentleman traveller should add the languages of France, Italy, Spain, “Alemannie”, and the Netherlands to Latin and English.⁴⁸ The book as a whole, however, is peppered with typographically differentiated words, phrases, and whole poems, in those five languages, along with fantasy languages such as Utopian (in this case more like the Antipodean language spoken by Panurge in *Pantagruel*). This is especially the case in the preliminary matter.

One “Ioannes Scory” remarks in verse on Coryate’s spoken languages. Though he must have been a very quick learner of language right from birth (otherwise how could he have learned “to talke so long and much”), yet Scory *hears* (through the text) “no Dutch, / Nor French, nor Spanish, nor the Italian tongue”. This is clearly because his full brains store such abundance of Greek and Latin – for uttering – that they can contain no other language.⁴⁹ The joke relies on an expectation amongst the community of learned wits and poets gathering around the figure of Coryate and his book that such a traveller *would* possess those other languages. The joke is that Latin is no longer the only tongue you need to get around Europe, the only international tongue, if it ever was; Latin books and newspapers produced in the Swiss and German territories are no longer all you need to be an informed, politic ‘European’. They certainly will not prepare you for effective communication within the alluring world of Venice.

48 Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sig. b3v (“Panegyricke verses”).

49 Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sig. d2v (“Panegyricke verses”).

The second approach is at a much earlier stage of development than the first, due to the long-standing predominance of nation-based studies in the history of languages. But more research is now being done on foreign language-learning, refugee or expatriate language communities, multilingualism/ code-switching, and inter-lingual interaction and hybridity, as it intersects with printed literature. This work asks questions about the role of language skills and associated literary artefacts in the formation and conduct of cross-community relations, whether in intellectual, diplomatic or confessional networks.⁵⁰ Latin is included, of course, as a living European language in a dynamically changing relationship with the various vernaculars.⁵¹

The Franco-German 'Eurolab' project was the first systematically to realise a methodology not centered on the rise of a particular European vernacular and its bilateral relations with Latin. Instead the project focussed on analysing particular 'constellations' comprising the triangular relations between Latin, a dominant vernacular, and other languages and dialects as they unfold in a particular professional network, location or space in the period 1480–1620. An example of the former is the language of military science developed interlingually in the context of the Franco-Italian wars of the first half of the sixteenth century. Examples of the latter include a court (the French court: Latin, French, and Italian), a sovereign territory (Spanish Naples: Latin, Tuscan, southern Italian dialects, and Spanish), a city (Antwerp), a printer's workshop (Bernhard Jobin at Strasbourg; Plantin at Antwerp). These locations and spaces are conceptualised as experimental language laboratories. Unfortunately, England and English were not included in any of the selected 'constellations' – perhaps a symptom of the extent to which early modern English studies has created a world of its own, separate from the study of literatures and languages at the European level.

50 See especially Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (eds.), *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe Volume III: Correspondence and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007); Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds.), *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe Volume 1: Religion and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), part 4 on 'Religious communication'. There is also an AHRC project on 'Textual Ambassadors' (<http://www.textualambassadors.org/>). For a fresh, original, and wide-ranging study that emphasises the oral and social aspects of language-learning see John Gallagher, 'Vernacular language-learning in early modern England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2015).

51 Françoise Waquet, *Le latin, ou, l'empire d'un signe : XVIe–XXe siècle* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1998); Jan Bloemendal (ed.), *Bilingual Europe: Latin and Vernacular Cultures, Examples of Bilingualism and Multilingualism c. 1300–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

Other projects focus on particular instances of inter-lingual exchange and hybridity. One current project in my own institution is looking at exchanges between French-language and Dutch-language communities in the Burgundian Netherlands, by bringing together a critical edition of poems by both communities.⁵² There has been a spate of studies of 'French England' and of Francophone language and textual communities outside France in the late medieval and early modern periods, and a new focus on the literature of English refugee communities other than the Marian exiles.⁵³

But how should we visualise the place of English in the European multilingual environment? John Donne's much-discussed English-language poem for the preliminary matter to *Coryats crudities* immediately follows the verses by "Ioannes Scory". It centres on a conceit which imagines the leaves of Coryate's universal, Latinate "Pandect" serving only as waste-paper of various sorts. But he also mocks the persona of one who takes all his bearings from Swiss and German Latin print culture ("... when thou didst goe,/ *Munster* did Townes, and *Gesner* Authors show,/ Mount now to *Gallo-belgicus*; Appeare As deepe a States-man, as a Gazettier"): Sebastian Münster, Conrad Gessner, the *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*. This helps make sense of the short macaronic pair of distichs that follows in Latin, English, French, and Spanish, and in different typefaces on the printed page (Latin – italic, English – black letter, French/Spanish/Italian – roman).⁵⁴ Macaronic poems, and their appearance in various typographical combinations in printed books, had been used to exhibit and explore inter-lingual and inter-confessional relations in various ways in England throughout the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ The wit lies in the fact that Coryate will not be able to understand this short poem mocking his book's lack of credibility, as he lacks credibility as a traveller-linguist and would-be statesman (he has no French, Italian, or Spanish, to add to his abundant Latin).

52 <http://www.transculturalediting.eu/portal/site/a437601b-eb09-40a0-baae-9f73ce107e06>.

53 Butterfield, *The familiar enemy*; Philip Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath, 1640–1690* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010). See also the AHRC-funded project, 'Medieval Literary Francophone Culture Outside France' (<http://www.medievalfrancophone.ac.uk/>).

54 See Figure 16.1. The poem translates roughly as follows: "As many perfect linguists as these two distichs make,/ So many prudent statesmen will this book of yours produce./ To me the honour is sufficient of being understood: for I leave/ To you the honour of being believed by no one."

55 See chapter six of A.E.B. Coldiron, *Printers without borders: Translation and textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015). I am very grateful to Prof. Coldiron for allowing me to consult her chapter on macaronic poetry prior to publication.

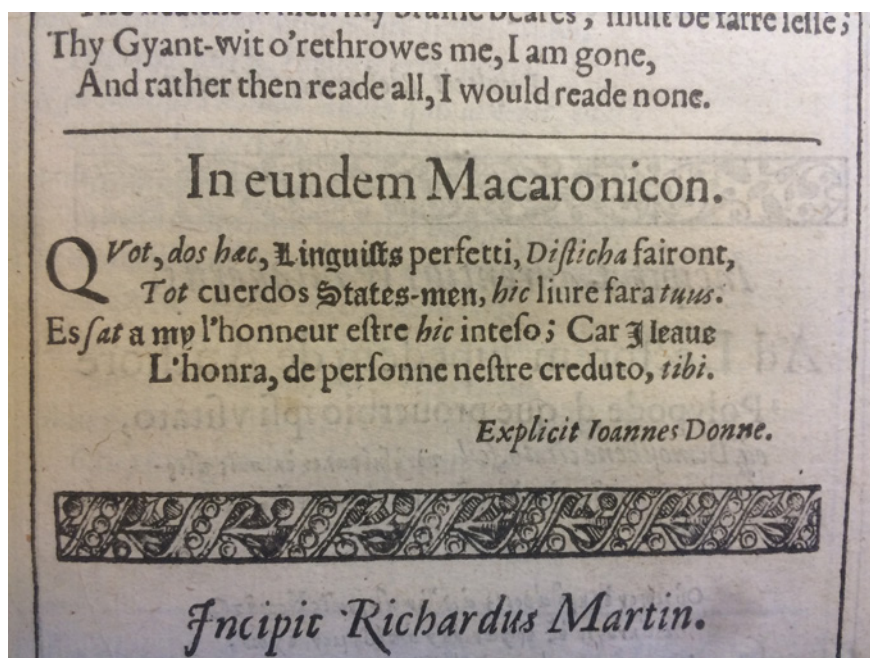


FIGURE 16.1 Detail from Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), BL 152.f.19, sig. d4r.

But beyond this, how should we interpret this multilingual poem in its aspect as a visual representation, by an English wit, of England's place in Simonin's *Europe des langues* in the early seventeenth century? Do we see the crude, black-letter English words struggling for status amidst a confusion of refined continental *verba*? Or do we see an honest and robust tongue beginning to forge its way in a positively multilingual environment? Along with the skill of a polyglot English wit who can make them all these languages work together, who has gained the honour of being understood ("a my l'honneur estre hic inteso"), where Coryate has not? The visual aspect of the printed page manifests all the tensions and possibilities of multilingual English Renaissance literary culture in the early seventeenth century. It renders visible the ways in which literary English was animated at this moment by "encounters with literary and linguistic alterities".⁵⁶ The English stage had been doing something similar in aural terms for more than a century: making other languages audible to English audiences in plays.⁵⁷

56 A.E.B. Coldiron, 'Visibility now: Historicizing foreign presences in translation', *Translation Studies*, 5 (2012), pp. 189–200, 194.

57 Janette Dillon, *Language and stage in medieval and Renaissance England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Black letter was also used to mark out English titles in the 1620 catalogue of the Bodleian library. During his visit to the Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg, Coryate and his host Gruterus compared its holdings to the newly refounded university library of Oxford.⁵⁸ Gruterus was able to do so because, in Heidelberg in September 1608, he had a copy of the printed catalogue published by Thomas James in Oxford in 1605. This printed library catalogue moves us in the direction of the third approach outlined above (transnational print): firstly, because it is an example of an English-printed neo-Latin book that has travelled *via* the Frankfurt fair (advertised by John Norton) and other routes to various European locations with the purpose of inserting the Oxford collection in the continental republic of letters; secondly, because the contents, and the section of ‘*Libri artium*’ in particular, provides an important corrective to the EEBO-driven account of literature in the English Renaissance.⁵⁹ This is the account which equates literary and linguistic culture in late Renaissance England just with ‘original’ English-language compositions in print – with EEBO minus translations into English.

We have already seen how a close look at the paratexts and contexts of Florio’s Montaigne could challenge this account. But we also need to appreciate that the ‘translation’ of Montaigne to England involved not just Florio’s translation, but importation and use of French copies of the *Essais*.⁶⁰ In the presses of books listed on the end of stall ‘M’, which needed to be called up from Bodley’s librarian, there was a copy of the 1598 Parisian edition of the *Essais*. The page of the catalogue that advertised the presence of this copy also listed copies of Thomas More’s *Opuscula* (Basel, 1563) and five other works of Latin scholarship, along with: three works in the Spanish vernacular, including two published at Antwerp – Montemayor’s *Diana* and Bernadino de Mendoza’s treatise on war (USTC 440169); three in the Tuscan vernacular; two in the French vernacular, including the works of Clément Marot.⁶¹

58 Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2N4v–5r.

59 Richard Ovenden, ‘Catalogues of the Bodleian Library and other collections’, in Simon Eliot and Ian Gadd (eds.), *The history of Oxford University Press: Volume 1, Beginnings to 1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 279–292, 282.

60 John O’Brien, ‘Montaigne, Sir Ralph Bankes and other English readers of the *Essais*’, *Renaissance Studies*, 28, no. 3 (2014), pp. 377–391.

61 Thomas James, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius eques auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit* (Oxford, Joseph Barnes, 1605), sig. 2Y3v (press M**). “M**” is the heading at the top of the page of the catalogue and presumably refers to the press where the asterisked, smaller books are shelved, for fetching by the librarian (see note 66).

The Bodleian was the most avant-garde and up-to-date of numerous public and private libraries across the country that still firmly identified 'literature' in England (the same would hold true for Scotland) – especially in the arts – with a multilingual body of texts that included neo-Latin scholarship by English writers (some printed in England), and that was beginning to include a small number of English-language texts, likewise normally printed in England, along with works in the major, transnational vernaculars (French, Italian, Spanish).⁶² It was particularly avant-garde in adding the 'works' (sometimes in one edition, sometimes in a number of separate editions) of a whole series of recent and contemporary authors to the classical and patristic authors that traditionally dominated such catalogues. In the expanded, 1620 catalogue, as we heard above, the English-language titles were distinguished – like the English words in Donne's poem – by use of black letter type (roman type was used for all other titles), while more English authors' works – including Samuel Daniel's – were admitted.⁶³ Was this to advertise their emergence into the European world of learning to members of the republic of letters beyond England?

The founder, Thomas Bodley, famously perceived there to be a clear distinction between "baggage bookes", including vernacular "almanackes, plaies", and the kind of books he wanted to collect for his library. But it was a distinction neither between Latin and vernacular books, nor between intrinsically learned and intrinsically popular genres. It was a distinction between plays composed in other nations "most esteemed, for learning the languages & many of them compiled by men of great fame, for wisdom & learning", and plays composed in England, which, he held, were not composed within an elite, multilingual culture of this kind. So in 1605 there were no English plays, but there were Ariosto's comedies in Italian and Guarini's *Pastor fido*. It was ultimately, then, a distinction between 'languaged' and 'unlanguaged' literary cultures – both of which could be found within England.⁶⁴

62 This point was powerfully made by an exhibition at the Bodleian Library in 1994: Bodleian Library, *A Continental shelf: books across Europe from Ptolemy to Don Quixote: an exhibition to mark the re-opening of the Bodleian Exhibition Room* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1994).

63 Thomas James, *Catalogus universalis omnium Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Oxford, Iohannes Lichfield & Iacobus Short, 1620), sig. K7r.

64 Ian Michael, 'How *Don Quixote* came to Oxford: The two Bodleian copies of *Don Quixote*, Part I (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1605)', in Nigel Griffin et al. (eds.), *Culture and society in Habsburg Spain: studies presented to R.W. Truman by his pupils and colleagues on the occasion of his retirement* (London, Tamesis, 2001), pp. 95–120, 111 (Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James, London, 15 January 1612); James, *Catalogus*, 1605, sigs. 2N4r (press A**), 2Tiv (pressmark G. 2. 10).

Kastan points out that the 1605 catalogue contains items by only three authors that would now count as English literature in the narrow sense. Of these, there is only one set of ‘works’ that would count (Chaucer’s).⁶⁵ But, from the perspective of the current chapter, what is more interesting is the environment in which works of English Renaissance literature, in the broader sense, are found by visitors to the library. It is a single but multilingual environment of textual culture that includes both English and continental neo-Latin scholarship, contemporary editions and commentaries on the classics in Latin, vernacular translations and works in Italian, French, and Spanish (in descending order of importance).

A reader sat at the desk under press or stall ‘C’ would have found, chained on the fourth shelf, Chaucer’s 1561 (London) English works, dignified in the catalogue with a Latinised title (“Galfredi *Chauceri* opera Anglicè”), and two internationally renowned neo-Latin works of Aristotelean commentary by the Englishman John Case, produced as large quartos in Oxford by the publisher of the catalogue itself (Joseph Barnes). After consulting the shelf-list at the end of the stall he could have asked the librarian for another quarto work of Case’s.⁶⁶ Nearby on the same shelf were Julius Caesar’s *Commentaries* in multiple forms and languages: a Latin manuscript copy, an Italian translation with figures recently published at Venice, and an unidentified, printed French translation. Amongst a number of other neo-Latin works printed on the continent, there were also further vernacular works, notably on the military arts, in Italian (Venice) and Spanish (Lyon, translated from the French of Guillaume du Choul). Similar points could be made about shelf H. 2, which held the three folio volumes of Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal navigations*.⁶⁷

The third, and most important approach for this chapter, is, then, analysis of the transnational print trade – including dissemination, book-collecting, and reception – and its relationship to translation. The subtitle of Elizabeth

65 David Scott Kastan, ‘Humphrey Moseley and the invention of English literature’, in Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (eds.), *Agent of change: print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 105–124, 110. Lydgate is represented only by a manuscript verse hagiography (“The life of Our Lady”) shelved with “Libri Theologici” (*Catalogus*, 1605, sig. 3N3v, press L), Gower by a copy of the *Confessio Amantis*.

66 *Catalogus*, 1605, sig. 2P4v (pressmarks C. 4. 4, 15). The system used in the catalogue is explained on sig. ¶ 1v, “Observanda in hoc Catalogo”. I have assumed that a ‘partitio’ is some kind of shelf within a larger press. Smaller books were asterisked in the catalogue – they had to be requested from the librarian, who would fetch them from another press with the corresponding letter.

67 *Catalogus*, 1605, sig. 2V2r.

Eisenstein's famous book on the printing press as an agent of change was "Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe". She took the traditional accounts of pan-European transformations such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution and re-analysed them as products of a "communications revolution" brought about by print. She was primarily focussed on dramatic increases in production and the effects of an increased supply of texts, though she does say at one point that the term "'dissemination' is distracting" and that more emphasis should be placed on "cross-fertilisation or cross-cultural interchange".⁶⁸

More recent work in the field has followed this up by attempting to base the study of inter-cultural communications and networks in the study of the printed artefacts that circulated within them or that facilitated their construction. Inter-cultural and inter-lingual exchange is placed at the centre of the historical narrative. This means attempting to recover dissemination as an actor's category, as an activity that shapes the cultural meanings of the books and other literary artefacts in circulation. It means following them on their itineraries through cultural contact zones and across linguistic, cultural-confessional, and territorial borders. There have been increasing numbers of studies centered on the migrations of particular texts or authors across Europe and beyond.⁶⁹

However, we cannot pursue such studies and synthesise them into an overview unless we have comprehensive information about the production of texts. The most significant development in this field since Eisenstein is not this or that monograph, but a research tool: the 'Universal Short-Title Catalogue' (c.1465–1600), based at the University of St. Andrews. The interface includes search and filter functions that are beginning to suggest ways in which an overview of the flow of works around Europe might emerge. We can search by author, translator, editor, title, printer, place of printing, year; we can filter, also, by country, language, format, and subject classification. This has already distinguished a core zone of European print – comprising major printing centres in cities in France, Italy (Venice), the German and Swiss territories, and the Low Countries – from more peripheral print cultures in England, Spain and Portugal, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe.⁷⁰ We can now quickly see that more

68 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe: Volumes I and II* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 71–72.

69 Armstrong, *The English Boccaccio*; Austern, McBride, and Orvis (eds.), *Psalms in the early modern world*; von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant translations of the Imitatio Christi*.

70 Pettegree, 'North and south'.

editions of classical authors were published in France (7805, mainly Paris and Lyon) than in the Holy Roman Empire (4557) or the Italian States (3724), and that more than double the number were published in the French vernacular (1454) than were in the Italian vernacular (688). When it comes to items classified as news books, however, German (4824) comfortably outnumbers French (1722) and Italian (1224).⁷¹

More pertinently, we can now see the scale of movement of particular authors across particular borders. The two 'authors' produced most often in France were the musical composer and Franco-Flemish Catholic, Orlando di Lasso (or Roland de Lassus), who was based in Munich; and "Amadís de Gaula", the cycle of romances that became a transnational phenomenon after they were published in Spain in a Castilian version by Montalvo.⁷²

Luis de Granada was the second most published author in the Italian states (279 editions), splitting Ariosto (344) and Boccaccio (241). Of those editions nearly half (132) were issued by one publishing and printing firm in Venice, the Giolito house, which worked with particular translators to transfer foreign vernacular texts into Italian.⁷³ Giovanni Miranda, for example, was accredited as translator on the title-pages of 21 of these editions of Granada's works. This fact points us to the agency of particular publishers in meeting the demand in Italy for Spanish counter-reformation piety – a counter-balance to the standard narrative in which Italy exports its superior cultural products to culturally inferior, more inward-looking nations such as Spain. If in the later middle ages the Spanish did look eastwards to Italy for models of piety such as Catherine of Siena, by the latter half of the sixteenth century the flow had reversed. The Carmelite reform in central Castile became a transnational phenomenon *via* the printing press, which transmitted the writings of St. John of the Cross, Teresa of Avila, and their allies in other orders such as the best-selling Dominican Luis de Granada.⁷⁴

The USTC helps us to see the pattern of production of texts and translations across Europe. What it does not allow us to see, unless combined with other documents, is the wholesale trade, the exchange of stock that regularly

71 These numbers and those in future paragraphs derive from searches on <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/> conducted between 10 and 17 March 2014.

72 The position of Orlando di Lasso may partly be a result of the USTC's tendency to classify each separately title-paged part of a multi-part edition as a separate edition, especially when it comes to France. Many of his works were issued in multiple parts.

73 A. Nuovo and C. Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva, Droz, 2005). My thanks to Brian Richardson.

74 James S. Amelang, 'Exchanges between Italy and Spain: Culture and religion', in Thomas James Dandeleit and John A. Marino (eds.), *Spain in Italy: politics, society, and religion 1500–1700* (Leiden, Brill, 2007), pp. 433–455, 450.

occurred between booksellers in different countries. Just looking at USTC, we might contrast the scale, multilingualism, and international scope of the Plantin *officina* (c.1555–1600) with the more modest, relatively monolingual production of a publisher like Ciotti in Venice. Plantin's top authors (by number of editions produced) include Justus Lipsius, Cicero, and Luis de Granada; he publishes in Latin, Dutch, French, Greek, Italian and Spanish. Ciotti's top four authors are all contemporary Italians (Guarini, Leoni, Panigarola, Tasso), and nearly two thirds of his books are in the Italian vernacular.

But Ian Maclean has recently transcribed an archival document which reveals the exchange of stock between Plantin and Ciotti at the Frankfurt fair of Autumn 1587. This kind of transaction was called barter or *Tauschhandel*: the exchange of books on a sheet-for-sheet basis at the spring and autumn fairs. Such exchanges both turned books into a kind of international currency and turned all publishers into international retailers of imported books. About half the titles exchanged by Plantin were newly declared at the fair, including books by his Protestant son-in-law Raphelengius at Leiden, whose *officina* was also known as 'Plantiniana'. They include the *De veritate religionis Christianae* by Du Plessis-Mornay. There is one Italian book by Guicciardini. Against this Ciotti offered 32 varied titles, half of them in Italian, including fashionable authors such as Tasso. There is also Latin scholarship by Italian authors. Many of the titles involved were not declared at the fair itself.⁷⁵

Fifteen years later Ciotti was still involved in the import trade and published a catalogue of the transalpine books he made available to his customers in the Italian peninsula. If we take one page of this at random we will see that it is dominated by commented editions of the classics in Latin, and other works of Latin learning, printed everywhere from Ingolstadt and Cologne to Antwerp and Frankfurt. But it also includes volumes of lives of illustrious men in French (Lyon), and of emperors in Spanish, together with a Spanish-language Plutarch (Antwerp). The page also reveals that Ciotti was cautious about infringing inquisitorial rules: for Leiden-produced works he lists the publisher name "rafe-lengio" instead of the place of publication, which is the norm for other entries.⁷⁶

Just as Ciotti is a producer of vernacular 'Italian literature' who also acts as a retailer of large quantities of transalpine literature via connections with houses such as Plantin's, and just as the Giolito house works with translators to offer

75 Ian Maclean, 'Ciotti and Plantin: Italy, Antwerp and the Frankfurt Book Fair', *La Bibliofilia*, 115 (2013), pp. 135–146.

76 Giovanni Battista Ciotti, *Catalogus eorum librorum omnium, qui in ultramontanis regionibus impressi apud Io. Baptistam Ciottum prostant* (Venice, In Officina Io. Baptistæ Ciotti Auroræ Signum præferentis, 1602), sig. Bior.

such literature in Italian, so (on a smaller scale) are English publishers of 'English literature' connected in the European book world, and proactive in the production and sale of translations and, most probably, in the sale of imported books.⁷⁷ Kastan has attributed Humphrey Moseley with the invention of English literature, in the sense of the grouping in his shop of original works of imaginative literature by the likes of Milton, Waller, Crashaw, Shirley, Suckling, Cowley, Denham, and Carew. He is clearly right to some degree. But the transnational and European context of this 'invention' needs more attention. Kastan does not give any emphasis to the fact that Moseley's express aim, as he said himself in a publication of 1659, was annually to publish "the Production of the best Wits of our, *and Foreign Nations*" (my italics).⁷⁸ Moseley was publishing "our" best wits to a literary culture within England that was still heavily defined by the wits and languages of foreign nations and the ancient world. There were some collections which featured a majority of English-language books printed in England.⁷⁹ But it is very likely that Moseley's prestige folios were more usually finding their place in libraries that, like the Bodleian, shelved them not exclusively with other English vernacular texts but with the productions of those foreign and classical wits in other languages.

So if he was inventing an English literature, this literature centrally included Englished texts of classical and contemporary continental authors.⁸⁰ The catalogues of his publications printed as advertisements at the back of some of his editions clearly demonstrate that the translated works of foreign wits were an integral part of Moseley's oeuvre, as they had been for many English printers and publishers since Caxton's time.⁸¹ The section of "New and Excellent

77 See Roberts, 'The Latin trade' for the wholesale side of the import trade, and one or two key retailers. We still do not have much evidence regarding the broad role of English stationers in retailing imported books, and the broad means of acquisition of continental books in England, as most studies are centered on English printing. See David L. Gants, 'A quantitative analysis of the London book trade 1614-1618', *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), pp. 185-213, 187-188. My thanks to John Pitcher.

78 Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley', p. 113, citing Moseley's preface to *The last remains of Sr John Suckling* (London, 1659).

79 Gants, 'A quantitative analysis', p. 188.

80 Brenda Hosington, 'Commerce, printing, and patronage', in Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English: Volume 2 1550-1660* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 47-57, 52-53.

81 This latter fact is currently gaining wider recognition than it has had in the whole post-war period. See the new series of MHRA Tudor and Stuart Translations (general editors Andrew Hadfield and Neil Rhodes), Brenda Hosington et al's 'Renaissance Cultural Crossroads' database (<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/index.php>), Braden, Cummings,

Romances” consists entirely of works whose titles advertise that they were first written in French (mostly), Spanish or Italian by this or that famous wit, and then “Englished” by this or that English person of honour. The section of poems intersperses ‘original’ works by Donne, Waller, Fanshaw, Stanley, Denham, Carew, Milton, Shirley, Quarles, and Shakespeare, with translations from Juvenal, Musaeus, Guarini, Seneca, Diego de San Pedro, and the Polish humanist Matthias Casimir Sarbievius. Of the first eight items in the catalogue’s opening section of “Various Histories, with curious Discourses in humane Learning”, six are Englished, while two are original compositions by Raleigh and De Grey.⁸²

The second item in the catalogue is the 1654 edition of Henry Carey Earl of Monmouth’s English translation of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio’s *Della guerra di Fiandra*. This is comparable to the 1603 edition of Florio’s Montaigne, with which we started: a prestige folio translation of a work by an honest Papist, which makes no significant attempt to ‘translate’ the Roman Catholic bias into acceptable Protestant terms, and which, in its paratexts, places the whole, highly visible process of cultural transfer and translation to England in the context of the European print trade and European politics. The translator, Monmouth, is more prominent on the title-page than the author, Bentivoglio. He points out in his preface that he began the translation before the outbreak of the first war between the English Republic and the United Provinces (1652) and that events had therefore turned it to uses he had not intended (abetting war with information).⁸³ Both translator and publisher had royalist inclinations, though Moseley published nothing that got him into any trouble.⁸⁴

In his own preface to the Reader, Moseley describes a book that is valued everywhere, but uses different metaphors to Florio and Daniel:

IF I say this Book hath been often call’d for, you may believe me. For, none who are not un-read or un-travail’d, but know what value is paid to BENTIVOGLIO; not only in *Italy*, whose Language it weare’s, and in

Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English*; Hosington, ‘Commerce, printing, and patronage’; Coldiron, *English printing*.

82 Arnauld d’Andilly, *The manner of ordering fruit-trees*, trans. Anon. (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1660), “Courteous Reader, these Books following are printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, at the *Princes Armes* in *St. Pauls Church-yard*”, nos. 148–164, 78–107, 1–8. Moseley’s catalogue varies in length from edition to edition, even from copy to copy.

83 Guido Bentivoglio, *The compleat history of the warrs of Flanders*, trans. Henry Carey Monmouth (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1654), sig. A2r.

84 John Barnard, ‘London publishing, 1640–1660: Crisis, continuity, and innovation’, *Book History*, 4 (2001), pp. 1–16, p. 8. For Carey, see the biographical sketch in Braden, Cummings, and Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English*, p. 435.

Flanders which gave it Subject; but in *France* and *Spain*, who by worthy *Translations* have made it their own. 'Tis therefore no wonder it hath been so oft Re-printed in *French*, but that it came no sooner into English.

He goes on to produce evidence from the Latin republic of letters regarding the book's credentials:

[H]ow he hath perform'd it, there needs no Evidence but the word of Learned GROTIUS, who (in a Letter to Monsieur *Du Maurier* the French Ambassador at the *Haghe*) say's; "*I confess my Expectation was much deceiv'd in Cardinall BENTIVOGLIO; I could not hope from the hand of an Enemy to receive so impartiall a History of our Warrs: I doubted not his Ability, for I had formerly seen some Discourses of his; but this shews he knew what to write, and wrote what he knew: His Education abroad, and long Residence in Flanders enabled him for both; My Countrey will by this be a Gainer and a Loser: Our Courage and Diligence was equall to theirs, our Swords as sharp; but now BENTIVOGLIO hath Conquer'd us with his Pen, and will wound us to Posterity*".⁸⁵

Moseley here briefly invokes an elite, languaged, and travelled readership who are doing the same thing when they read and when they travel – gathering knowledge and news of foreign places and languages, guided by publicised or printed epistles produced by princes of the republic of letters like Grotius. What he says implies a demand-led market for imported books. These well-travelled, well-read customers come to know that value is paid to Bentivoglio everywhere and therefore call for his work from the agents and booksellers who supply their continental books. Moseley is supplying a local, translated edition for the English zone of this continental market – in a manner parallel to the supply of editions of Latin texts for particular zones on the continent.

In this case, a book that is valued everywhere is described as a book that is collectively composed by several different regions and countries: the Italian peninsula has provided its dress of language, the region of Flanders its subject, but the two great powers who had just fought each other in Flanders in the latter stages of the Thirty Years War – France and Spain – have made it their own by translation. In the religiously divided environment of late Renaissance Europe, he is careful to exonerate the Catholic author by producing the testimony of a confessional opponent, Grotius, regarding the benefits of his educational travel and diplomatic service.

85 Bentivoglio, *The compleat history of the warrs of Flanders*, sigs. a1r–2r.

The book-historical facts behind his remarks, insofar as they can be ascertained, are interesting.⁸⁶ What Moseley does not mention is that all three parts of this work in the earliest editions in Italian generally bore a Cologne imprint ("In Colonia") – a suspicious one, as it turns out, for the printer, although he includes a preface to the reader, and refers to Cologne, does not identify himself. Recent book-historical research has revealed that they were all printed by the Elsevier publishing house in Leiden, between c.1632 and 1640.⁸⁷ This is just the beginning of the work's travels. The larger story is that various parts of this work by a Roman Catholic Cardinal are first printed in Italian at Calvinist Leiden, then translated into French (Paris, 1634) then taken up in Italian by Venetian houses (1637–40, 1645), and translated into Spanish (Madrid, 1643), before appearing in several editions at Paris in Italian as part of his *Opere* (1638, 1643, 1645, 1648, 1649, 1650), and finding translations into English (London, 1654), and Dutch (Amsterdam, 1674).

Moseley's last remark in the first passage is particularly telling: English publishers like Moseley were very aware in general terms of the books that were being 'called for' on the European markets, but they paid particular attention to what was being printed in France. Moseley is surprised that a text printed so quickly and repeatedly in French, came no sooner into English – in fact there appears to have in French been only one Parisian edition in French, as against many in Italian.

The interesting point about Florio's and Moseley's perspectives on these two continental texts is that they help us see production and dissemination from the point of view of historical actors involved in the process. They do not view literature – as much modern scholarship does – through the prism of distinct, static, national bundles comprising a language, a culture, a print market, and a body of 'original' imaginative literature. If in the seventeenth century a national literature is being invented by publishers such as Blount and Moseley it is taking shape as a particular market zone within the transnational, European world of highly mobile books and languages.

86 I have used the online search functions of the Catalogue Collectif de France, WorldCat, and the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands.

87 The Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands lists the first Elzevier edition of the first part as 1635, but the existence of a French translation from the Italian, published in 1634, makes an earlier date necessary. The online catalogue of the Bibliothèque Mazarine lists an edition of the first part with the imprint "Colonia, 1632" (pressmark: 4° 17838 A).

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